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WASHINGTON WIRE

IT IS GOING TO TAKE the hardest kind of fighting to get the Marshall Plan program through the 80th Congress—one of the most conservative legislatures in history. We are not sure it can be done. Stop-gap aid gave a test and showed the difficulty.

Stop-gap aid looked easy: it was small in amount, met an immediate emergency, and its goals were understandable and compelling (after all, few congressmen will vote for starvation). And yet, time after time, the stop-gap-aid program nearly failed under continued flank attack.

How much bigger is the problem of the Marshall Plan! Its size is tremendous; nothing in peacetime history has ever compared with it in scope, imagination or objective. It proposes to put three percent of America's income at the disposal of the foreign nations for four and a quarter years, at a time of dangerous inflation at home. Its targets aren't cold and starvation, but concrete things like new turbines, tractors, turnip seeds. And both politicians and the public know that the plan means direct sacrifice at home, either in higher costs or in inflationary curbs that restrict individual freedom of action.

We should like to be able to predict the result, but on this one we think we'll have to pass. We can't figure it out.

"Phony politics." The following three instances of political maneuvering indicate what's ahead for us in Election Year. They all came in the last week of Congress.

1. Inflation: House GOP leaders had a phony anti-inflation bill which they knew would have little effect. But they felt they might make political capital by getting Democrats to block it. They brought the bill direct to the floor, demanding that the membership agree

to an hour's debate without amendments. The GOP Representatives knew they couldn't get the required two-thirds majority; they cared nothing about inflation, were just interested in putting Democrats on the spot. It was pure politics.

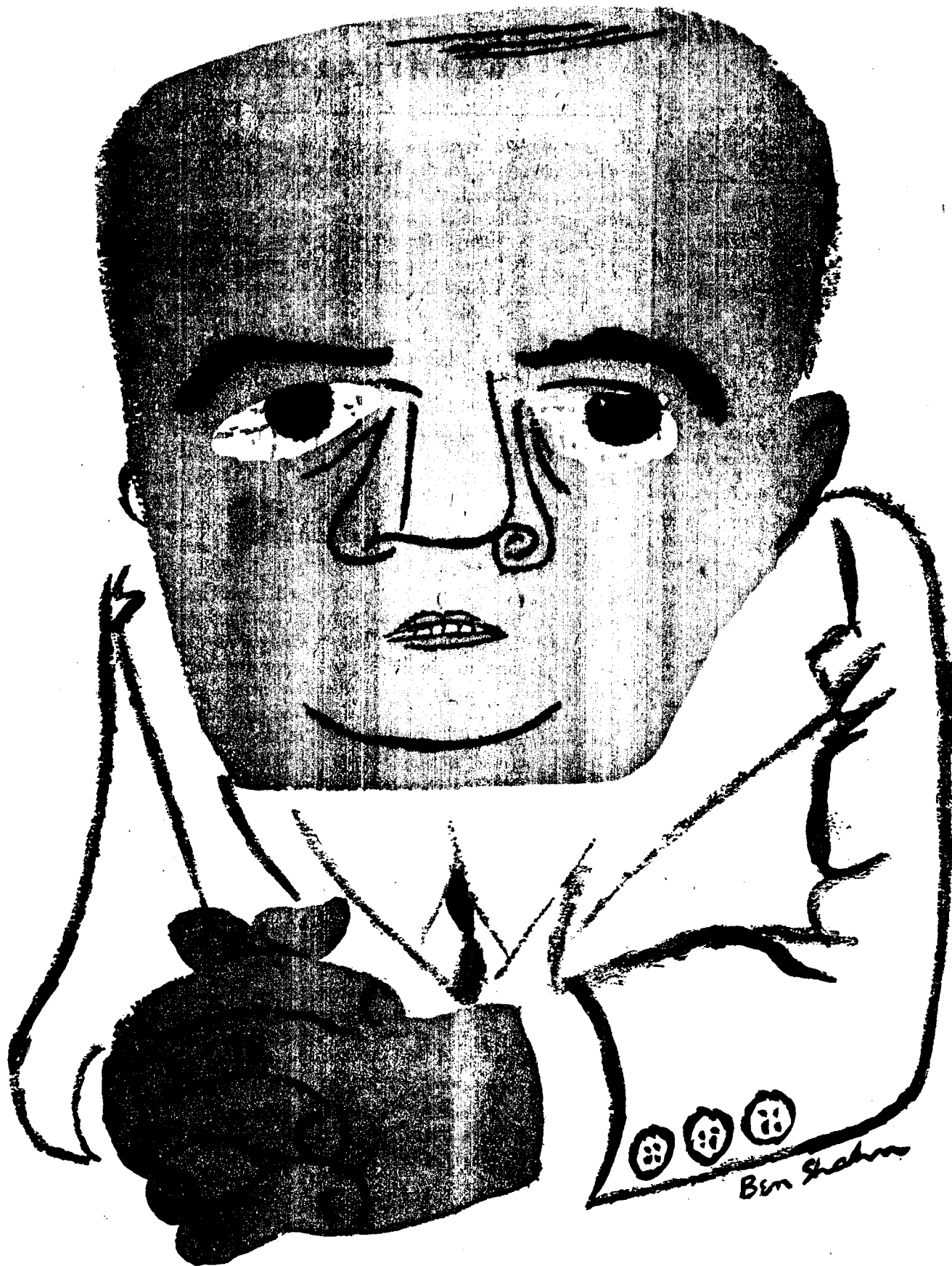
2. Commodity speculators: When Congress passed the Commodities Exchange Act, it specifically stated that names of speculators obtained by the government should *not* be made public. Then the Senate Appropriations Committee, under bull-like, bullying Styles Bridges (R, N. H.), summoned Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson to divulge such names to the committee, for it to hold or give out, as it saw fit. Bridges takes the strange position that congressmen, if they have speculated, are immune from normal criticism anyway, since they are answerable only to their own constituents.

The Republicans could have passed a simple resolution telling Anderson to divulge the information. Democratic leader Alben W. Barkley (D, Ky.) proposed this. But it was more spectacular for a committee to issue a subpoena. The hope was to put the Administration on the spot if Anderson refused. A committee of Congress, in effect, asked its servant to violate a law of Congress. It was purely political. Anderson went up, offered to make the names available if the public as well as Bridges' committee got them. The committee hesitated, hemmed and hawed, then ignominiously backed down. It was a GOP maneuver, under stupid leadership, that flopped.

3. Stop-gap foreign aid: On Monday, last week, the House passed overwhelmingly the full authorization for stop-gap aid. On Wednesday, two days later, it even more overwhelmingly passed a reduced appropriation

(Continued on page 39)





J. Parnell Thomas, Hollywood's 1948 Glamor Boy

(See Ring Lardner Jr., pages 14 and 15)

**THE WEEK**

AS THIS ISSUE was going to press, a bright young lady "checker" from one of Henry Luce's magazines telephoned to ask, "Is it true that in the last eight weeks the *New Republic* has not been supporting the idea of a third party?"

We suggested that if the lady checker would check the files of the *New Republic*, she would find that through its editor, Henry Wallace, the *New Republic* has been saying for a long time that if the Democratic Party held to the course set by the Truman Doctrine, independent action would be necessary in order to give Americans an opportunity to vote for peace.

Henry Wallace's own views on the subject of the 1948 presidential elections and the part he will play in them will be fully reported in next week's issue. The *New Republic's* editor is negotiating for time on the radio around the first of the year to discuss the same subject.

ED WORRIES HARRY

"Old Pal." Now even Harry Truman is getting mad at Old Pal Ed Pauley. The millionaire California oil man is beginning to look like a one-man wrecking crew to Democratic chances in 1948.

Top Democratic party leaders were aware three months ago of the facts about Pauley's speculating on the commodity markets which Republican candidate Harold Stassen recently revealed. At that time, they confronted Pauley with the records on his holdings, explained to him that they would furnish the Republicans damaging campaign material in '48 and insisted that he liquidate his holdings for the sake of the party. Pauley refused.

The President kept silent on the matter then, but recent visitors have found that mention of Pauley's name

brings flushes to the presidential brow, and angry bursts of silence. Democratic party leaders report that the initial Pauley exposé has already caused costly trouble in the party organization, which the publication of Secretary Anderson's list of other prominent traders will do nothing to diminish.

MARTIN DIES REVIVES

II. The Un-American granddaddy of them all, it seems, wants to return to Washington now that times are good for such as he. Martin Dies, who once called Shirley Temple a Communist, told reporters in Houston, Texas, that he may run for the Senate in 1948.

The founder and first chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee is accepting speaking engagements for the first time since he was booed off the stage at the 1944 Democratic convention at Dallas. He says his itinerary carries him through February. Then he will decide to run if the race appears to be a "dignified and decent campaign."

KNUTSON TRIES AGAIN

GOP enthusiasm. The Republican Congress, halfhearted about inflation control and social legislation, showed remarkable enthusiasm for cutting taxes, especially for those who need it least. Representative Harold Knutson (R, Minn.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, could barely be restrained from introducing a new relief-for-the-greedy tax bill the minute the special session was called to order.

Knutson is a stubborn man. No one can say he does not fight hard for the NAM. In the bill he presented before the close of the session, the only concessions are to practical politics. He is even nicer to wealthy taxpayers than

Christmas Story

A HOME-HUNTING Baltimore, Maryland, housewife went to the Gwynn Oak *News* and wrote out this advertisement: "Family separated—apartment needed to bring them together." Then as an afterthought, she added another point which she considered in her favor: "Adults Gentile. Please help."

The ad ran for several weeks without offers. But just as the discouraged woman was about ready to give up, she received an answer. A letter to the *News* promised: "If the separated family would not object to living in a home that is not Christian, I will be glad to make room for them. Sincerely yours for a Merry Christmas." It was signed by a Mrs. Jacob Rosenberg.

he was in the bill President Truman vetoed last session. In fact, he has tried to make almost every tax group happy, but not at the expense of any other group. He has simply cut in everyone, thereby producing a bill that would reduce the federal income a whopping \$5.3 billion. As the new provisions would apply after January 1, 1948, about \$2 billion of the cut would come in this fiscal year.

Knutson's new offering has a good chance of passage and a fair chance of getting White House approval. It's a canny document. Liberals and Democrats are appeased by upping the personal exemption from \$500 to \$600. This would drop six million people from the tax rolls, at a cost of \$2 billion. Persons over 65 (politically potent as Townsendites and other old-age groups) and the blind would get a personal exemption of \$1,200. This would take 1.4 million persons off the tax rolls.

Rich benefits. The privilege of splitting family income between hus-

band and wife to bring the two incomes into lower surtax brackets, now enjoyed by residents of 12 community-property states, would be extended to all federal taxpayers. Only some 3.5 percent in the upper tax brackets would get handsome savings from this provision, but it has strong appeal for congressmen from the 36 non-community-property states. Estate and gift taxes would be juggled slightly to give some handsome loopholes to the very wealthy.

The bill gives progressive relief to the well-to-do. The tax reductions are 30 percent for incomes under \$1,000 (29.2 million taxpayers); 30 to 20 percent on incomes from \$1,000 to \$1,396 (14.5 million taxpayers); 20 percent on incomes from \$1,396 to \$4,000; and 10 percent on everything over \$4,000. This sounds fine until you look at the table below, which was

not included in the Knutson releases:

Net Income for a Family of 4	Percentage increase in spendable income over present law	
	Under old GOP bill	Under new GOP bill
\$ 2,400	1.2	3.27
3,000	2.0	3.9
5,000	2.7	4.6
10,000	4.6	8.0
20,000	9.3	15.83
50,000	18.6	31.38
100,000	33.1	47.95
300,000	70.5	67.08
500,000	69.9	67.09
1,000,000	68.8	65.70
2,000,000	68.0	64.83

What will the bill do to the government's financial outlook? Revenues are now about \$46 billion a year. Allowing for a cut of \$2 billion in the current fiscal year (but not for any aid to Europe), some \$7 billion could be applied to the public debt. The Administration is expected to present a budget for the next fiscal year of about

\$40 billion. This includes \$6.8 billion for ERP and allows for some \$5 billion in debt reduction at present tax rates.

But if Knutson's tax cut goes through, the margin for debt reduction would be wiped out unless heavy cuts were made in aid to Europe. This is just what he has in mind. His national-budget figure is said to be around \$35 billion, and damn the peace.

TROUBLE FOR THE BOSS

NASHVILLE, TENN. (NR correspondent)

Un-Crumpish. Wily old Ed Crump, the last survivor of the big-time political bosses of the era of the unbeatable city machines, has got himself involved in a desperate three-cornered senatorial fight that may upset his tottering throne. It might also bring to the US Senate a real liberal, Representative Estes Kefauver of Chattanooga. Kefauver stands for such un-Crumpish things as a modern tax system, abolition of the poll tax, constitutional reform and progressive policies in national affairs.

In a straight two-way race against a candidate supported by Boss Crump, Kefauver would have had a very slim chance of winning. But a personal squabble has brought two men into the field against him—Senator Tom Stewart, the present incumbent, and Judge John Mitchell of Cookeville.

Crump created the trouble for himself when he jettisoned Stewart and chose Mitchell as the machine candidate. The Senator thereupon announced he would run anyway.

Monkey wrench. The announcement caused consternation in machine ranks. Men like Hub Walter, national committeeman, and Frank Hobbs, state party chairman, long ago gave their nominal support to Stewart, assuming he would do whatever Crump said. Now, either confirmation of that support or shifting of their backing to Mitchell will be embarrassing and will help Kefauver's chances.

Crump shifted from Stewart to Mitchell because Mitchell comes from middle Tennessee, where the Memphis

Labor, Dixie and '48

SOUTHERN LABOR LEADERS are losing little sleep over the provision in the Taft-Hartley Act which prohibits unions from contributing to political campaigns. That prohibition applies only to federal elections, and below the Potomac the labor unions are thinking more about state and local contests in 1948.

Since control of state Democratic Party organizations means the power to name Senators and Representatives, the CIO, the AFL and the railroad brotherhoods are preparing an extensive campaign to capture county and city committees and the little groups of men at the crossroads who form the basis of the Southern Democratic Party. The stake next year will be seven governorships, 10 US Senate seats and control of 30 or 40 "key" congressional districts.

One of the critical points at which labor will test its strength is in Georgia, where the CIO broke with Governor Melvin Thompson,

the so-called "liberal" opponent of Gene and Herman Talmadge, after Thompson signed two anti-labor bills. If Thompson and Talmadge run against each other for the Democratic nomination, the CIO will introduce a third candidate.

A different situation arises in Alabama, where Big Jim Folsom's term as Governor runs to 1951. Labor realizes that if Folsom's liberal program is to be put into effect, a sympathetic legislature must be elected to replace the present obstructionist one.

The Southern unions can spend all they want in the gubernatorial campaigns in Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. And if their support of liberal candidates for state office in the Democratic primaries should also happen to help liberals running for federal posts, the expenditures involved can hardly be challenged. It looks like a wide-open campaign year in Dixie.

WILLARD SHELTON

machine needs votes badly. Crump can count on 60,000 votes in Memphis, and a goodly response in the eastern part of the state as a result of his long-established alliance with east Tennessee Republicans. But Mitchell is his best hope for votes in middle Tennessee. With these, Crump hopes to save his personal rule, salvage the poll tax and an unamended constitution.

Crump's only objection to Stewart was that Stewart might not win. Stewart is a straight reactionary. His record in the Senate is bad. He voted against the OPA and the TVA, followed the Taft line on taxes, the Byrd line on appropriations.

In forcing a three-way race, Stewart will weaken Mitchell more than Kefauver, and in this lies the hope that Kefauver may win and give Tennesseans a liberal Senator who could break the power of the old boss of Memphis.

SUBSIDIES FOR HOLLYWOOD

Quid pro quo. Hollywood and some of the largest US publishers are trying to get the government to guarantee them profits—or, anyhow, no loss—from their foreign distribution of pictures, magazines and books. In return, they will submit to some government censorship, or at least "guidance."

Already the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved in principle a proposal by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R, Mass.) that the picture and publishing firms be enabled to convert some of their foreign earnings into dollars.

In addition to the Motion Picture Association, others interested in the plan include the *Reader's Digest*, *Newsweek*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* and a group of the leading book publishers.

But any plan for government aid in converting blocked funds into dollars is going to cost the government money—and it is foolish to suppose that Congress will approve such a plan unless there is assurance that the pictures, magazines and books to be supported conform to the J. Parnell Thomas idea of what they should contain.

The Anti-Inflation Bubble

THE REPUBLICANS didn't dare go home again without at least pretending to do something about high prices. But not even the GOP leaders pretend that the four-point program they rushed through on the last day of the special session is going to stop inflation.

Standing pat against President Truman's ten-point program and imposing a "gag" rule on Congress in its closing hours, the Republicans tried to create the illusion that they had done something to check rising prices. Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) laid down the strategy and directed the operation. He had the gall to say with a straight face: "In effect, we [the GOP] deal with everything the President has proposed, except compulsory power, the reinstallation of the war powers of government to regulate allocation, inventory control, the rationing of commodities and the control of prices."

Before Taft took command, less experienced House Republicans had made a clumsy attempt at the same thing—and failed. The plan was to force the GOP anti-inflation program through under a rule allowing no debate and no amendments. By a two-thirds vote of the House, such a "suspension of rules" is allowed.

But when minority leader Sam Rayburn (D, Tex.) explained what their Republican pals were trying to do, the Southerners rose up and joined the Democrats. So majority leader Charles A. Halleck (R, Ind.) was forced to give way to the leadership of Taft.

Old gag. Taft thought a slightly smaller gag might work. He let Senate minority leader Alben W. Barkley substitute Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman's proposed method for the stronger GOP scheme to suspend anti-trust laws with relation to agreements among businessmen for allocating goods and lowering prices. After pushing the bill through the Senate, 77 to 10, the measure was sent

to the House, this time under a "gag" rule to which the House was reasonably well accustomed. When Representative Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) moved to recommit, in order to allow inclusion of authority to allocate scarce commodities, the Southern reactionaries turned into Republicrats again. The vote went 156 to 73 against him.

Even antediluvian Representative Howard W. Smith (D, Va.) recognized the GOP bill as "a piece of shadowboxing." Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) said it was "quite in line with Republican thinking: let us have chaos rather than orderly controls if chaos means high profits for a few." Representative Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) commented, "In all my experience in Congress, I have never witnessed such a brazen, bold-faced and undisguised exhibition on the part of monopoly business. . . . Is there anyone so naïve as to believe that when monopoly business is permitted to get together and fix prices, limit production, divide up markets, etc., that their motives will only be those of trying to help the poor consumer?"

Not too bitter. Only 73 members of the House agreed that this was too sorry a bill to support. And only one man, Representative Mike Mansfield (D, Mont.), suggested that Congress be kept in for Christmas "until this very vital and important matter of inflation is attended to."

Politically, Taft's prescription is not too bitter a dose. Its shortcomings will inevitably show up in the worst possible place—on the grocery bill. President Truman can sign the bill with an accompanying message pointing out that it is no good. He can follow with a stronger message to the new session, again demanding controls. Or he can flatly refuse to have any part of it. Either way, he can make clear that his ten-point program bears no resemblance to the puny specimen Taft has deposited on the White House doorstep. HELEN FULLER

1948: POINT OF DEPARTURE

THIS IS A PLEA to look upon world developments from a point of departure that can lead to peace. The point of departure is simply that ours is no ordinary time. **by Michael Straight** of universal significance, for today politics is the repository for all of our underlying economic, social, religious and cultural sickness.

Our world is breaking up. We face a new and unfamiliar world or none at all.

Where do we stand? The forces that dominate our lives seem so immense that in comparison the faith of free men is infinitesimal and powerless. The genius of the American spirit, born in fire and nurtured through generations of effort, at last seems lost in the giant mechanisms by which our minds are controlled today.

This is no time for postponement. As long as we maintain that the issue before America is not a profound and general crisis of democracy, but a series of superficial and unrelated abuses that time will smooth over with patient hands, we shall be ground down in long slow heartbreak.

This is no time when reaction stands baffled and broken, while progressives claim the future. Reaction has its future: expansion abroad; rearmament at home; the extension of military power; the contraction of civil liberty; the concentration of control over minds which grow numb; two worlds, and the collapse of the Soviet regime, or, more probably, war.

War and depression are the great innovators in American politics. And the tragedy of progressives is that we are always right and always in opposition. We cannot wait. Independent action is necessary, and though it must have a broad program and a deep-felt ambition in our people, the alternatives are not inaction, or acceptance, however well disguised, of present trends.

For us, this is a time of human testing. More than vision and more than courage are required of us. Vision without courage is criminal among us now, just as courage without vision is foolish; ultimately both failings lead to the same disastrous end.

But courage is more than a matter of taking the steps commanded by conviction. For the progressive today, courage is not simply the quality that permits vision to be followed by action. It is the source of moral strength, without which vision is impossible. Because vision compels a profound break with a powerful status quo, no man without courage can free himself to be honest in seeing the forces which control the world and whose support is necessary for success.

Because our sickness is so deep, the regeneration of political life is only a small part of the entire effort that is needed. Yet political action is a starting point

If we approach world politics from a world point of view, and seek the regeneration of mankind, then no dominant force in world politics today can command our allegiance.

As progressives, we recognize the necessity of One World, and, contrary to most world-government supporters, we insist that there must be a social basis for a world society. In the polarization that is taking place in world affairs, we refuse to believe that a world society will be built after the image of present-day Russia or present-day America.

We owe basic allegiance to civil liberty, and for that reason we cannot accept the underlying philosophy of the Soviet state. We believe in internationalism as such; not just when the right side is on top. For that reason the new nationalism of the USSR and the states friendly to it is as repugnant to us as jingoism in any form. It bears no relation to the political imperatives created by modern war.

Yet if in the search for peace progressives need to be independent of Soviet foreign policy, they must at the same time be equally independent of the world policy of the Truman Administration.

World policy dominates all domestic policies now. The future of progressives rests on the degree to which they accept or reject present trends. One major alternative for progressives is outlined in the ADA report, "Toward Total Peace."

This report accepts the underlying assumption of the Truman Administration that the USSR is an inherently aggressive power that can be halted only by superior force. Its guiding authority is George F. Kennan of the State Department.

On the face of it, this is absurd. Who can picture the progressive movement marching back to power under the banner of George Kennan? Even an honest conservative, Walter Lippmann, took up a position to the left of the ADA in demolishing Kennan's irresponsibilities.

Yet Lippmann and Kennan and the ADA all have nothing to hold out for peace. The offering of each to peace is *containment* of the USSR. Lippmann proposes *strategic* containment rather than Kennan's *universal* containment. The ADA's variation is: "A *successful* policy of containment requires stable and satisfied nations in Europe and Asia. . . ."

The idea of winning world peace by *containing* the USSR is based on one assumption: that external pressure will cause the USSR to collapse internally. What other hope does containment hold out? This assumption in turn is based on the belief that communism is inherently evil and therefore inherently weak. This is an old line for George Kennan. But for us? If it were true, many of us would not be alive today.

The same prejudice that led to an almost fatal underestimation of Soviet military strength in 1941 is leading to a fatal underestimation of Soviet economic and political strength today.

The ADA lists the "fallacies" that prevent the Truman Doctrine from being a success: overemphasis on military containment; indiscriminate anti-communism; aggressive capitalism; compromise with fascism. And if these were superficial appendages of the Truman Doctrine that could be easily shed, progressives might live by clinging to this administration. But these characteristics are basic to the Truman Doctrine, whose amoral approach is based on fear and built on opportunism.

"If the Truman Doctrine does mean unconditional support of all anti-communists," the ADA report adds, "American progressives would, of course, oppose it. If it means only that the US proposes to support countries menaced by external aggression, American progressives would, of course, back it up."

Events, the report suggests, bear out the second interpretation. Where? In Greece? In China? In France? In Italy? In all of these countries the bankruptcy of American policy is clear.

A great democratic, socialist force in the world today could isolate Soviet nationalism and American reaction. It could expand into a world society, bringing peace.

Progressives know this. The purpose of the ADA's foreign policy is to strengthen Blum and Ramadier, Attlee and Bevin, Schumacher and Saragat. It finds in these men our ideals. It adds, "We cannot let them down."

But we have let them down! To use the Socialists of Europe against the Communists is an old State Department game, played with gusto by Ambassadors Caffery, Dunn and Lane. Where, except in Britain, are these leaders today? In embracing them, the State Department strangles them.

America has become the last hope of all the remnants of feudalism and fascism in Europe. This administration bases our strength on reaction. We resist social reform. When we bind Europe's Socialists to us, we isolate them from their own peoples.

Certainly the USSR bears heavy responsibility for the

destruction of a great concept in the Marshall Plan. Our government in turn has redirected, toward parochialism and further decay, the plan for regeneration that Europe passed on to us. Between America and Russia, Europe is turned into a no man's land, morally broken, riddled with conspiracies, lacking all hope, breeding fascism and war.

German paratroopers did not become British soldiers by putting on British uniforms for raids behind the lines. And a crusade against communism does not become a crusade for liberty by being dressed in other clothes. The Truman Doctrine cannot be modified. And it must fail. If the issue before the world is made social reform or American aid, Europe and Asia will choose social reform and damn America in the end. For social reform is the precondition of increased standards of life in Europe, and all that Americans can do for Europe and Asia is a fraction of what the peoples of Europe and Asia can do for themselves.

Because it has no roots in the American people, the Truman Doctrine cannot be identified with domestic reforms and the extension of democracy at home. At home and abroad the Truman Doctrine means failure, and progressives who are tied to it will go down with it.

Only by realizing that we are out of power will we ever begin to get back. And only by understanding that this is not a passing political crisis but a deepening human crisis, can we begin to think in the terms required for peace and the future of democracy in America.

This generation of American progressives has a great task, liberation from outworn parties and ideas, education in the heart of the American spirit, the application of that spirit in a new form to present needs, and organization of a permanent coalition whose purposes are clear and whose friendship for democratic groups throughout the world is based on a common faith.

Is this the year? The lines for 1948 are not yet drawn. As they tighten, tension will mount, bitterness will increase and division will deepen. Wrong action may be costly and inaction must be tragic. But the crisis itself obscures vision and no man can be absolutely certain that he is right and others are wrong. In all our conflicts, one group will be confirmed by history. Yet it may be that one group may be right in 1948 and will go down, while another group, which fails to fight now, will inherit the task of fighting later on.

Progressives by their nature are expendable. For this reason we shall respect all groups within the progressive movement and we hope that they will respect each other. We ask simply that in making up their minds, progressives consider the terms that are outlined here. We are moved by forces deeper than we know.

BEHIND THE LONDON FAILURE

by William Walton

THE ATMOSPHERE of unreality which befogged the London Council of Foreign Ministers seeped perceptibly into Secretary of State George C. Marshall's report to the nation on the conference's failure.

With American righteousness as his theme, Marshall mentioned the main issues discussed at London—boundaries, reparations and German unification—without putting them in the proper light shed by previous negotiations and events. And even his apologia for suggesting that the conference end, because "it finally became clear we could make no progress," sounded irresponsible, since the conferees had at that moment gone through only half of their agenda.

As things turned out, the Russians, in the last hour of negotiation, gave a conciliatory hint on the Austrian question. No one will ever know what might have been the result if the Secretary of State had not suggested going home. Even though Molotov gave his usual irascible performance, the breakup was not simply over Russian intransigence, as Marshall implied. The American delegation, for its part, took positions on reparations and frontiers which the Russians could not be expected to accept. Nor did they.

Boundaries. By raising the question of German frontiers the Americans got caught up in the web of their own past mistakes. At Potsdam, Germany's eastern frontiers were fixed, but the western boundary, where the Ruhr and Saar basins are prime issues, were not. Technically, the Polish-German border was not written into any agreement to which the US gave assent, but America gave her moral support to that division, recognizing Poland's right to take over farms and factories in newly acquired territory.

Later, Byrnes, in his Stuttgart speech, insisted that the whole matter of German frontiers was open to negotiation. And now at London Marshall took the same stand in urging the creation of a border commission to consider the whole problem. To the Russians, who hotly declined Marshall's suggestion, this was rank abrogation of one of our Potsdam commitments and a diplomatic dodge for avoiding discussion of a central German government.

Reparations. But it was on the subject of reparations that Molotov and Marshall had their deepest dissonance. Before the conference opened, members of the American delegation privately had expressed the opinion that the Russians might give ground on reparations, motivated perhaps by their own acute need for the capital and manufactured goods of western Germany.

Instead, Molotov stood firm in insisting that Germany must pay with current production as well as with transfers of capital goods. The American position, in the end an indefensible one, is that Russia must not take goods out of Germany as long as Britain and the US continue to supply goods to support the Germans.

In other words, Molotov should tell his people that they must give up hope of reparations from Germany because Americans consider it more important to feed Germans than to feed Russians.

Marshall placed great emphasis on Molotov's "categorical refusal" to tell what assets had been removed from the Russian zone. Actually, the Potsdam Agreement, under which the removals were made, does not require Russia to make such reports.

That consideration aside, Molotov would have done well to list his ac-

quisitions in the interest of getting the negotiations on reparations under way. His case, it happens, is strongly enough backed by the tremendous Russian wartime losses and by the fact that the western zone contains 80 percent of Germany's coal and 86 percent of her prewar steel production.

Western unity. Marshall, in his report to the nation, made repeated references to the unity of decisions of the three Western powers as though Britain and France were in full accord with American policy toward Russia. Actually, this is too sunny a picture, since both France and Britain are terrified of American plans to rebuild industry in the Ruhr as a spur to European reconstruction.

Neither the French nor the British are convinced that American plans carry real safeguards against the frightening prospect of restoring Germany as the dominant economic power of Western Europe.

American truculence toward Russia finds less support in Britain on the matter of trade. The British have gone quietly ahead concluding agreements with Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia and other countries in the Slavic sphere. And though shipment to Russia of dismantled plants from the American zone has ceased, it continues from the British.

Marshall chose, however, to depict the Western powers as a flawless front facing Molotov. But his account was no less accurate than the conclusion Walter Lippmann drew when he said the council's failure means we must "return" to secret diplomacy.

Actually, never had a conference kept its doors more tightly shut or more carefully sifted the snippets of information released to the press. Revealing only partial facts, as Marshall did when he got home, is another kind of secret diplomacy.

HENRY WALLACE

Taft as a Candidate for President

ON MANY OCCASIONS I have said that peace was the dominant issue in the 1948 campaign. My conviction has been so strong that several times I have said that *if* the only choice were between a *Truman* advocating compulsory military training and military aid to reactionary regimes and a *Taft* strong against compulsory military training and shipment of arms abroad, I would vote for Taft. I have made this statement because I wanted to emphasize the supreme importance of peace in the strongest possible way.

My remarks have been taken all too literally by people who have read what I said, in the newspapers, minus the big *if*. For clarification, let me add explicitly that I shall never cast a vote for Bob Taft for President.

Taft is against compulsory military training, not because he is interested in the effect of such training on the outlook for peace, but because he is against increased federal expenditures. It is true that he is not as violently anti-Russian as are most of the other potential Republican candidates, but he definitely favors the Vandenberg "get tough" policy in so far as he could practise it without spending very much federal money.

Though he is the Republican least likely, among all those seeking the presidential nomination, to pursue a foreign policy backed with armed force, and thus to sharpen the chances for war, his domestic program, if it were ever put into effect, would lead to worldwide depression, which in turn increases the danger of conflict.

There are two types of Republican candidates today. One conforms to the Henry Luce, American Century type, and the other is Taft. The American Century type of candidate believes first, last and all the time in the "menace of communism." With arms full of machine guns, he rushes to fortify every bastion of reaction from Salonika to Suchow. He uses the horror of world domination by Russia, which his financial and publishing friends have raised to the level of hysteria, as a means of generating enthusiasm for world domination by America.

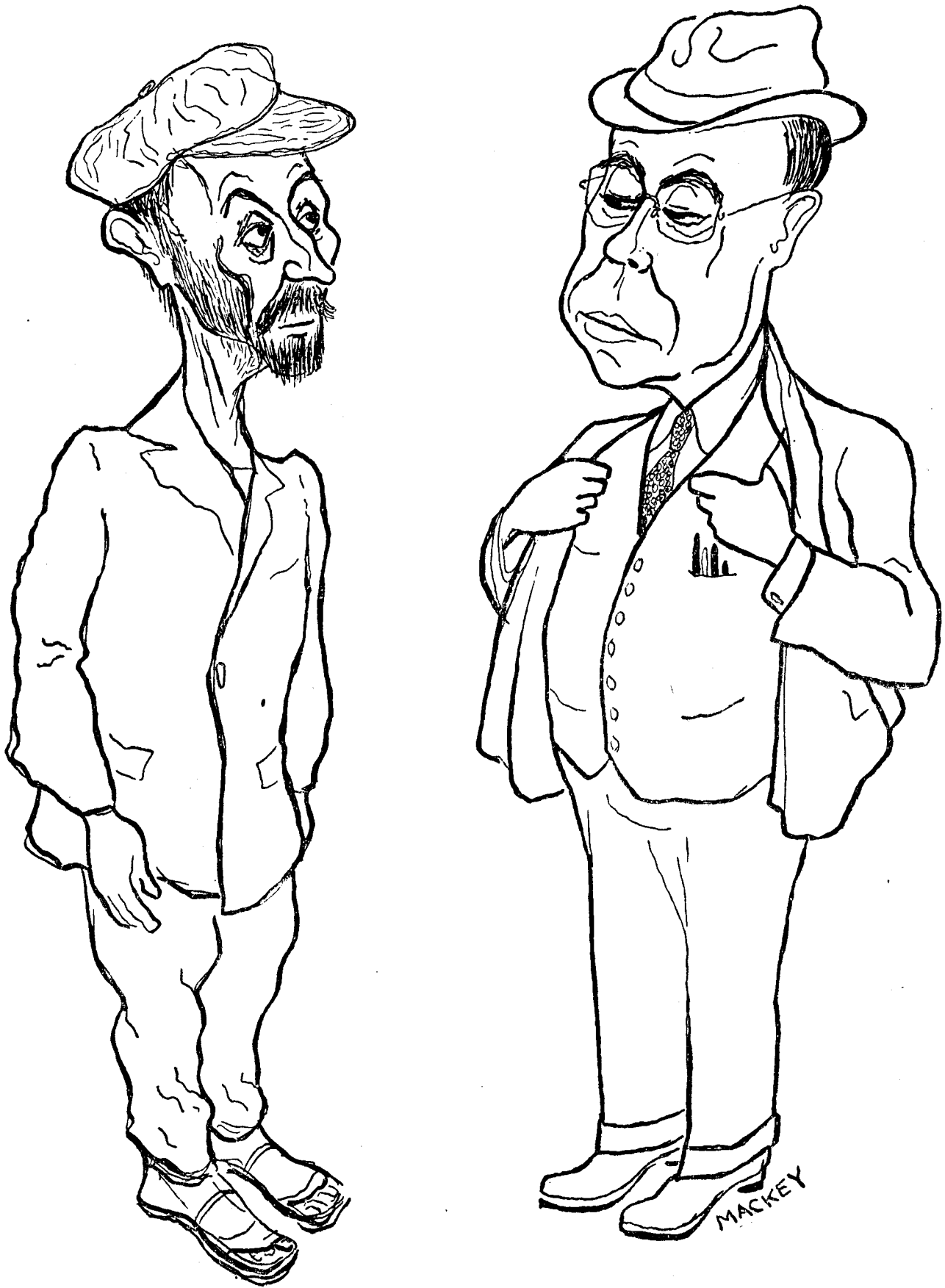
Billions are appropriated in the name of fear to prepare and arm the whole world against communism. But for what? Certainly not for human welfare. The men

who fought the Roosevelt New Deal and all it stood for in the way of social security, health, housing and relief now want to appropriate far more for armaments and foreign aid than they were ever willing to see appropriated for Americans. They deceive no one. They are fighting for markets and profits; they are not fighting for humanity.

These are the men who operated through the State Department to kill UNRRA, to circumvent the UN in giving aid to Greece and Turkey, and to ignore the UN Economic Commission for Europe in rebuilding from the devastation of war. Imperialism is an old and ugly word, but the concept of these men is also old and ugly. And the term sticks to them. The American imperialists who masquerade as defenders of American democracy against the Red Menace are interested in extending not the area of human happiness but the area of human exploitation.

This group, and their candidates, I look on as the most dangerous in America. From first-hand knowledge of present-day Europe, I know that if we give this group unlimited power they will earn for America the hatred, not the gratitude, of the rank and file of ordinary working people all over the world. While these people most certainly fear Russia, they are sure that the US is moved, not by humanitarian reasons, but by political considerations. They are disgusted with the role of serving as cat's-paws for two great powers.

Taft reacts to this situation as an America Firster who fears the encroachment of the federal government in business and who believes that that encroachment can be delayed if our government has no active role to play overseas. Just as in the time of Addison and Swift there were great debates on a "Big England" and a "Little England," so today we have Taft standing for a "Little America" and the whole Luce stable of presidential hopefuls standing for a "Big America." President Truman belongs to the "Big America" group just as certainly as Dewey or Vandenberg. As a group they are a minority, whose real ambitions have no place in the hearts of Americans. For this reason they can never extend democracy in America. They must always seek to resist the advance of true democratic expression. If



A "troglodyte" (right) face to face with a modern human problem

any of this group should win, it would be possible to say, "Never have so many been dominated by so few."

I am beginning to wonder if we should call the buccaneer proponents of the "American Century" reactionaries. They are not going back to anything in tradition but rather onward toward an imperialism which will make the British of the eighteenth century look like pikers. The essence of their neo-fascistic program is heavy armaments, universal military training, less democracy, and arrogant interference in the affairs of other nations in the name of protecting freedom, democracy and free elections.

All over the world they suppress people's movements so as to make the position of monopolists and finance capitalists safe both at home and abroad. Unlike Taft, they have no inhibitions about using a strong federal government now that they have reclaimed the government from the New Deal. They are suited by temperament and ambition to build a strong and expensive mechanism to run the world.

Compared with the "American Century" adventurers, Taft is a troglodyte of prehistoric vintage. Slowly he has crept out from his dark cave to enjoy the Imperial American sun from time to time. But to him it has been an expensive luxury, because in the final showdown everything virtuous with him is summed up in saving money and cutting down the functions of government. He fought the Truman Doctrine, but finally voted for the \$400 million Greek-Turkish appropriation. So it will be in 1948, when he will no doubt vote Marshall Plan aid to Europe after trying to lop off several hundred million dollars.

True to "Little America" principles, he will fight softly and be defeated easily. Like Harry Byrd and Tom Dewey, he will talk about greater efficiency and will end up merely making "peanut" savings here and there.

Taft is probably worse hated by labor than any other man in history. Just as "damyankee" has become a single word in the South, so "Taft-Hartley" has become a single name to labor. But Taft's over-all philosophy gives him his appeal. Unlike the American Century candidates, Taft has real roots in the American past. Taft is so thoroughly old-fashioned in his approach to problems that he has a much wider appeal to small-town people and even to ordinary liberals than most leaders of labor realize.

The purpose of this editorial is to prove that Taft must be fought on a much broader base than "Taft-Hartley." For he also represents a real danger. He is

a smaller, more negative man than Calvin Coolidge.

He did his best in 1943 to send the country back to Hawley-Smoot high tariffs. He and six other Senators voted against US participation in the UN. He voted against the British loan and denounced the Nuremberg war-crimes trial. He is against spreading either democracy, the four freedoms or government loans abroad. Domestic consumers will remember Taft best for the way he killed the OPA and prepared the groundwork for the great advance in the cost of living.

Taftism has long been well entrenched in southern Ohio. One after another, the Tafts have made money. One after another—with the exception of Charles—the Tafts have held to the doctrine that the well-to-do people should run the country and that the only way to help the poor is to help the rich people first. In justice to the Senator, it should be said that he has been mildly liberal both with respect to housing and health. Yet even here he is playing politics. (In his recent "Public Welfare" speech, he envisioned a total expenditure for his health, housing, education and social-security program of \$1 billion a year out of a \$30 billion annual budget.) And because of his over-riding smallness, most of his programs collapse when they are put to the test of present-day needs.

One thing that really jarred me after I had said some kind words about Taft was to discover that Colonel Robert R. McCormick thinks Taft is a great man and, so it is reported, is preparing to throw the weight of the MacArthur influence eventually to Taft after MacArthur has served his purpose in heading off Eisenhower and Dewey.

I believe in all Americans, progressive and non-progressive, working together for common aims. But we must keep our own aims clear, and understand the real aims of others. I can't see myself working with Taft, McCormick and MacArthur under any conditions. I can't believe an alliance of this sort, direct or indirect, really adds up to peace no matter how much Taft opposes UMT.

We who believe in peace, One World and a higher standard of living for all peoples everywhere do not believe in either Taftism or the American Century. We develop our own programs for self-liquidating loans at low interest rates from the World Bank to start the backward areas of the world to producing, not for the sake of the American Century but for the sake of humanity. For the good of our positive program we shall fight Taftism and the American Century. We believe that history will confirm the correctness of our point of view.

H. W.



TRANS-WORLD FILM CORP.

Hollywood, Dec. 26, 1947

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE ONLY
SUBJECT: "THE HIGHER LAW."

IT IS IMPORTANT to make clear right at the start that I want you to retain as much of the present screen play of "The Higher Law" as possible while incorporating certain changes I have in mind. These changes will, I believe, eliminate the type of criticism we are apt to run into with this kind of story nowadays and at the same time keep the solid entertainment values in Henkel's script. The fact that we had to let Henkel go in accordance with the decision at the New York meeting doesn't mean I have any less respect for him as a writer, though it is true he has run hog-wild with those radical ideas of his in some scenes.

As a matter of fact and off the record, if it had been up to me I would never have terminated Henkel's contract and only did so because this is a democratic organization where the board of directors' vote is binding on everyone, myself included, unless I wanted to stick my neck out and tell them to try and find someone else who could bring in the kind of profits I have made for the studio this year, even with a lousy final quarter which hit all of the companies and some of them worse than it did us.

As you know, when I was on the stand in Washington I let the Thomas Committee know what I thought of them. I never once raised my voice or treated them with anything but the respect I have always felt was due a

THE PRODUCER PENS A MEMO...

legitimate government agency, but that just made it so much the more effective when I came right out and told them that as long as I was running the studio I would go on making the same kind of pictures I had always made and hiring the people I wanted to hire until it was proved to me in black and white they were an agent of a foreign power, in which case I wouldn't want to have any part of them because I have always believed a man's first loyalty should be to his own studio and his own government and not to any foreign country where they don't even show our pictures and when they do you can't get any money out.

I have always been a notorious liberal and maybe I went a little too far when I took the attitude I did in Washington, but I thought at the time Eric Johnston was going to back us up and not pull the kind of switch he did. Even so, when I look back on it I am proud of what I said to Mr. Thomas notwithstanding I have since changed my mind in accordance with the policy of the Motion Picture Association, which we help support, and we would be getting a poor return for our money if we didn't take their advice once in a while.

As far as Henkel is concerned, he must be pretty well fixed what with all the money we have been paying him the last four years, and I had Joe Meyer call him the day he left to tell him there was nothing personal about it and I wished him all the luck in the world. I would have had him in and talked to him myself except that was the afternoon Hedda had said she would stop by to get my side of the rib we pulled on Osterman in the croquet game. I don't have to tell you that the stink she would have raised all over the country if she had seen him coming out of my office wouldn't have done him any good, or me either.

Anyway, I am just telling you all this stuff about Henkel because I know how you writers always stick together and personally I think it is an admir-

able thing though I want to talk to you some time about whether the Guild has to shoot its mouth off at every opportunity just when the newspapers are beginning to calm down. But the important thing to concentrate on right now is getting out the best possible script on "The Higher Law" and I want to remind you in this connection that Henkel has written some of our finest quality money-makers and the more of his construction and his dialogue we can hang on to the better.

I have done a good deal of thinking about this story and I have come up with a notion which I believe you will agree is a fresh slant for this type picture and will enable us to retain the present line intact with some differences in emphasis and the way certain scenes are shaded.

Without ever forgetting the fact that what we are basically telling is the love story of Sheila and Ben, I have decided that you will reconceive the background struggle in terms of making a sympathetic character out of Martin Grimes, Sheila's father. I know this sounds rather startling at first sight but I think you will digest it better if you stop and consider that there must be some good reason for the dominant position Grimes has won for himself as the leading banker in the community. In Henkel's script the only hints of how Grimes made his success are some references to his having been a profiteer in the First World War and the fact that he invested the Building and Loan Company's money in a bootlegging ring during the twenties. I don't feel that either of these add up to a sufficient explanation and besides, even if they do, it tends to take away from our feeling for Sheila if the love and respect she has for her father rest on such a shaky foundation. But most important of all, if Grimes has had such an unsavory past, how can we make him emerge as a sympathetic character, which is exactly what I want to do?

Once you get started thinking along

And a Curtsey to J. Parnell—by Ring Lardner Jr.

these lines you will see that we are getting away from the old-fashioned corny melodrama setup in which the man who holds the mortgage is always the heavy. After all, Grimes is the biggest property-holder in the town and, as someone pointed out during a lull in the New York meeting, there is no law of nature that says a man of property necessarily has to be a crook. It hadn't occurred to me before to question Henkel's motives for his characterization of Grimes because he was handled the same way in the original book but if it is true that the Commie writers in this business are always trying to show American businessmen as heels, why that would certainly tend to strengthen the suspicion that they really are Commies and it is undoubtedly just what they are told to do in their orders.

In any case I know you will agree that I have hit on a very novel angle and let us now proceed to see how it affects our story line as a whole, which we must not allow it to do too seriously since we have a January starting date on this picture and June Heather will commence costing us \$9,000 a week as of 15 days from now.

For one thing, it will be necessary to think of old Burkweiler, the farmer, a little differently than we have heretofore seen him. Certainly we will no longer want to have him say the line about "the soil ground from our fathers' muscles, nourished by the warmth of their faith and the moisture of their sweat" etc. because all that is tied up with his attack on Grimes as a parasite which would be an absolute libel on Grimes' new character. The way I see Burkweiler now is as a man who has become bitter with age and unable to understand that he and the other farmers are holding up progress by sullenly clinging to their little inefficient patches of land. I hope you can accomplish this without losing any of the real poetry and human touches Henkel has gotten into this character.

The story of the other farmer, Gus,

is one of the most effective things we have in the whole script and I wouldn't want to see any of it cut. The only thing I would suggest is that the day his crop is ruined, instead of his being in the church following his mother's funeral, the reason he isn't aware of the flash flood is that he has started drinking with the boys over a couple of games of pool and passed out.

What we have to give the most careful attention to is what happens in the light of our new approach to the basic story of Ben and Sheila. I think we have to devise a different problem for our girl at the beginning of the action, one that will be much more believable than her sympathy for the farmers when you remember the fact that June Heather is going to be playing the part and no one is going to accept her spending so much of her time out in the fields talking to Gus and Burkweiler, especially if you keep in mind that Gus is now a hopeless drunk.

I propose that the thing which is preying on her mind is that she has always dreamed of having a really first class coming-out party and her father has to put it to her squarely in the first reel that he can't swing it unless the farmers keep up their mortgage payments. You'll have to check with Research on whether they would have formal debuts and so forth in this kind of Nebraska town. If not we may have to change the locale, though I will have to reserve my decision on this till I check on how many of the sets are already under construction.

Anyway it is some sort of human, typically feminine dilemma with which she is faced when Ben comes into town on his vacation. Incidentally, and this is something we can fix up in a couple of lines, I would like you to forget the business of Ben's being in the government mediation service. We are still trying to get Ty Power or Bob Taylor for this role and there is a grave question in my mind whether either of them will go for the idea of a healthy, enterprising young man living off the

public pay roll. I believe it would be more acceptable and still fit in with the character we have established for him if he were some sort of labor relations trouble-shooter for one of the big Eastern corporations.

As a matter of fact, the more I think about it the more I am convinced that this last switch is absolutely essential to our new conception of the script. Instead of encouraging the idea of the farmers taking united action, the way I see it now Ben would oppose such a move and the reason he does so is that he has learned from his own professional experience that when people start organizing to defend what some agitator has persuaded them are their rights, the end result is apt to be mob rule.

I can't tell you right now exactly what these changes are going to mean in terms of our climax and final resolution. I only hope you will find a way of doing it so as not to lose the moonlight swimming scene or the final scene between the boy and the girl in the boxcar which is one of the most moving things of its kind I have ever read.

If it has occurred to you by now to wonder what effect these changes will have on our title, you can stop worrying. The same thing bothered me until I suddenly realized we were being psychologically hamstrung by the fact that "The Higher Law" was associated in the book with the farmers' right to reap the harvest they had sown. It can just as easily be interpreted to refer to the rights of private property and orderly process of law, and I am inclined to think this would be a more timely way to look at it nowadays. Certainly one of the reasons my pictures have always earned the unanimous acclaim people have been kind enough to give them is that I have dealt with current issues in an up-to-date manner. And I believe it is especially important in a time of box-office slump and world crisis to maintain the same standards and principles which in the past have won the regard of the American people for this industry, this company and myself. That was part of my stand in Washington and I repeat it now with equal defiance.

1948: FIRST PRINCIPLES

*Faced with crucial decisions, liberals
can find strength in underlying ideas which recent
conflicts have obscured*

by William Harlan Hale

PHILLIPS BROOKS, the most popular and ornamental of Episcopal clergymen, used to stand up in his pulpit on the first Sunday each January and exhort the new year to be good. Liberals, when they struggle to their feet late on New Year's morning, are more inclined to hope that it won't be too bad—at least, not as bad as the year just past.

This one, as far as liberals are concerned, may turn out to be downright dangerous. But as we enter it with a slight shudder, what are we carrying with us to sustain us?

Memories, chiefly. And a feud.

The memories are those of past victories, dampened by a self-consuming row brought on by present failures. We who a dozen years ago were writing our own ticket, are now reduced to scrapping among ourselves over other people's tickets. We who stood on our own insurgent feet are now dividing, face down, over the issue of whether to go along with everything the Communists are doing or with everything that is being done against them.

There's weight in our tradition, I said to myself, and it's more than deadweight. Some of it we can do without, but there is much we are going to need along the way. Let me look into it briefly, I said, as we climb aboard for 1948, to see what there is still in it for me.

Much of it is old stuff; some of it was old even a century ago, when the world ran into a crucial year such as this next one may be. We used it then, and out of it developed new ideas that spanned the generations. Not always too successfully, to be sure. But let's look.

Eighteen forty-eight was a dangerous year but a hopeful one: it saw a worldwide upsurge against old oppres-

sion. Margaret Fuller witnessed it in Rome, helping to launch the republican revolt while her husband joined the militant Civic Guard. Emerson came back from England, telling of the Chartists who threatened civil war unless greater democracy was granted.

Trouble at home. The hope and restlessness of Europe coincided with our own. We had long ago won our revolution; now we needed to reassert it against those who were trying again to hold us down. Andrew Jackson being dead and his party in decline, the formal politics of the moment were largely shadow-boxing; a presidential campaign was about to occur in which both major candidates equally skirted the main issues—namely the spread of slavery and the growth of economic inequality in a nation supposedly dedicated to freedom—but 10 percent of the voters angrily walked out on them and supported a third party that called for "free soil, free labor, free men."

Ten percent may have been little, but the undercurrent swelled. "The question," wrote the young Brooklyn newspaperman, Walt Whitman, "is between the grand body of white workingmen, the millions of mechanics, farmers and operatives of our country, with their interests on one side, and the interests of the few thou-

sand rich . . . owners of slaves at the South, on the other." Soon the Massachusetts insurgent Charles Sumner amended this to declare that "The Money Power [of the North] has joined hands with the Slave Power." From his pulpit in Boston, the learned and fiery Theodore Parker proclaimed that "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

American women in 1848 staged their own insurrection, demanding political rights at their Seneca Falls convention. The country listened to what a Southern congressman denounced as "Socialism, Agrarianism, Fanny Wrightism, Radicalism, Dorrisism and Abolitionism . . . and the thousand other destructive *isms*."

All these gospels were designed to enlarge the individual as the carrier of the common good; and, in spite of gathering pressure both from Southern slave masters and from the North's harsh factory system, people were confident that in a growing America they, too, could grow without limit and establish their Zion here.

On to Utopia? The earnest Emerson had already toured the land speaking his thesis that "I am to celebrate the spiritual powers in their infinite contrast to the mechanical powers of this time"; and there was a high belief that, with the concerted effort of free men, these "spiritual powers" might win out. Caravans of utopian dreamers struck west: the Mormons, then the curious Icarians, then the religious communists who took up forest lands along Oneida Creek. Their individualism was romantic, their socialism pretty vague; but all felt sure that as man's rights were raised, a better, happier state would follow.

The westward vista was bright, but meanwhile the picture in Europe suddenly darkened. Barely had the revolutions of 1848 been won when they were lost again. Middle-class republicans had split away from their more radical lower-class allies, thus opening the way for the return to absolutism.

America at first felt this European throwback only in the form of a flood of immigrant refugees. But these



brought with them an experience which was not to be erased. They had learned that the slogans which simply called for "freedom" just didn't stand up. Freedom for what? was the question men asked. Freedom for whom and from whom?

Freedom for the proletariat, answered Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, whose ringing *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 had taken over the general dream of socialism and converted it into a discipline for revolutionary dictatorship by the bottom class. Freedom for the middle class, in effect answered John Stuart Mill, whose ponderous *Principles of Political Economy* in the same year placed Anglo-Saxon liberalism on the side of the self-confident gentlemen and aspirants who felt that the fewer state controls there were to inhibit them, the better for everyone.

The split between these doctrines seemed to grow more pronounced as each year passed. And in America, the liberals and insurgents of the second half of the century were torn between a double heritage: first, an impulse toward communal responsibility that might lead, like Marx, to dictatorship; and second, a love of individual liberty that might lead, like our industrial barons, to the jungle.

Anarchy v. control. But the jungle, in turn, might also lead to a dictatorship imposed by the predatory Right. The age of the trusts amply taught us that. Here was the second hitch, and the history of our liberalism has been the attempt to unravel it. But our forefathers, remembering government's past abuses, agreed that the one knot they did not wish to get tied up in was statism; and so, in spite of the uses to which everyday anarchy might be put by determined businessmen, they chose the remedy of gradual reform rather than that of Marxian upheaval.

Often the reform was terribly slow in coming. Sometimes it was out of date when it did come. "Radical" movements in America had a way of being curiously retrospective: The Grangers of the 1870's and the Populists of the 1890's wanted to turn back

the economic clock to simpler, agrarian times, while trustbusters and Wilsonians and New Dealers, too, hoped to return America into the hands of those small, "forgotten" men whom the destiny of bigness had overlooked.

The moral job. But if there was a lag to all this—if we seemed in danger of never catching up to the hard economic facts of life—there was at least the recognition that our job was at heart a moral one. It was to redress the evil done in the name of freedom by the strong upon the weak. It was also to remind Americans that to be free meant to be responsible.

Because we had clung as long as possible to an emphasis on liberty as against an emphasis on control, we were faced over and over with domestic crises of irresponsibility. But we were willing to take these in our stride. "I am for those that have never been mastered, for men and women whose tempers have never been mastered," Walt Whitman had chanted; and the admiration which one class of people had bestowed on John D. Rockefeller for having defied the nation's courts was bestowed by another class upon Eugene Debs for having defied them too.

Reform, as leaders like Bryan and Wilson intended it, called for what you might describe as a moral dynamics of freedom. That meant that the freer a man was, the more responsible he would feel to the community. But the problem was that while reformers clung to this reading of freedom, their business opponents were using the opposite reading of it as a means for blocking reform. This left reformers with a theory, but **not much** to practise it on.

Then, at the turn of the century and after, reformers became so eager to resume practice that they were willing to try it without a theory. They would hang their work simply on the inevitable fact of progress. America was booming. The nation's advance seemed irresistible; not even reform could be held back for long. If liberals had lagged, progress itself might do their catching up for them. As things grew



bigger, they might automatically become better. Liberals didn't need ideas so much as they simply needed to be in motion.

Action for what? "Get action!" ordered Theodore Roosevelt, who managed to preempt the title of Big Chief reformer; "Do things; be sane; don't fritter away your time; create, act, take a place wherever you are and be somebody; get action." ("Action for what?" asked John Chamberlain, in examining the man and the progressive movement; "Do what things? Be sane in that way, and for what reason? Employ your time how, and for what end? Create what? Take a place for what program? Be somebody to what good?")

Bust *some* of the trusts, was the answer. Strike a blow for freedom here and there—mostly there. Meanwhile the critics joined the boosters and wrote out the philosophy called pragmatism—which was the same thing as writing no philosophy at all, since about all it said was that things should be judged simply in terms of their results. In other words, any idea would do, just so long as it worked. This was all right so long as things did work.

But when they didn't work—specifically, during the Great Depression—many people felt that the Happiness Boys of bit-by-bit reform were washed up. Seeking a surer discipline, they went over to the further alternative that had always been waiting for them: the faith of Marxism and its rigorous, total way out.

The Marxists seemed to have all the answers. But there were a good many questions they, too, hadn't asked. When it came to worrisome subjects

like political freedom and civil rights, they were more and more inclined to say that once the revolution had been consolidated, the future (*i. e.*, "progress") would eventually take care of all that by itself.

Here was the old dogma again, cropping up in another guise. To the Marxist, the historical process leading to the workers' triumph was as "inevitable" as America's destiny to outshine the world was to a Rotary booster.

The end being inevitable, Communist leaders told us in effect that any means would do to attain it. Thereby the gospel of expediency had spread into the ranks of the converted, and Marxism—at least so it seemed to many of us—became the pragmatism of the Left.

Again, this was all right so long as things kept moving ahead.

The old choice. At any rate it seemed to be all right. But as of the winter of 1947, what can we speak of confidently as moving "ahead"? Is Soviet communism moving "ahead," in terms of fulfilment of human aspirations for economic and personal freedom, simply because it is growing stronger? Is any similar destiny making a bigger America automatically become a better and a happier one? Many of us have been brought up to believe that in the long run things are bound to move ahead, which in effect means making a virtue of change. Yet at this point one asks oneself, a change for what?

I keep wondering whether in our generation we haven't lived by a simple criterion of progress that has tripped us all. As a liberal, you can't rely on progress; that's the trouble. There has never been any progress in this country that was either inevitable or irreversible. Just as the ardor of our Revolution was followed by reaction, so the crusade of the Civil War went over into corruption; and just as the people who had elected Lincoln shrugged after a few years and elected Grant, so Wilson was followed by Harding and the New Deal was followed by a return to the old.

To go on, if American history has

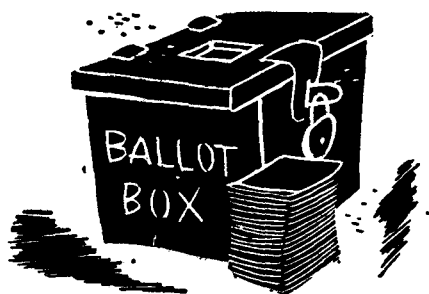
taught us liberals anything, surely it is that each generation has had to fight the same social and spiritual battles all over again, each time starting practically from scratch. The basic cleavage between people in each generation has been ethical no less than economic, and has been primarily a conflict between those who believe in the ultimate worth of the individual common man and those who either look on him as an enemy or use him as an instrument.

And to conclude, the decisive act of each man, group or generation has been the making of a choice between accepting social responsibility on one hand and yielding to the ever present temptations of greed, bigotry and lust for power on the other.

If this in turn is obvious, maybe some of us liberals have nevertheless lost sight of it. The question is whether in doing so we may not have lost sight of ourselves.

No absolutism. The doctrine of advancement has been central to democracy, but in the minds of men like Roger Williams and Jefferson and Lincoln and Debs it has been directed to moral no less than material ends. That is to say, it has dignified both man's rights and his duties, and has refused to give in to the absolutism of success. A philosophy that states your and my ultimate responsibility to our fellows for each thing we do cannot surrender either to moves that seem expedient or to forces that are called "inevitable." Nothing is inevitable, a liberal is inclined to say, except that the good is measurable and that evil persists.

All right, you say, nice words; so what do we do next? How do we get some action?



Whatever we do—and the time for choice is close upon us—it would seem that we must first make certain of our underlying thinking. The lessons of experience are there. We know what happens when we abdicate our moral judgment in the interest of something called "progress." We had ample chance to see the results of accepting a climate of expediency. All that the politics of convenience can do for us is to make us reluctant partners in a world in which a capitalist Right worships property while a communist Left uncritically enthrones power.

The questions. But property for what purpose? a liberal must ask. Power to what end? Both are "good"—if they are to be called good at all—only to the extent that they serve mankind. Unless measured thus, mankind serves them.

We have had in our ranks a cult of freedom and a cult of control. Perhaps it is time that we went back to the first principle which underlies both our idea of freedom and our idea of control—the principle that for all his acts, man is to be held strictly accountable to his fellow men. Reassert this, and you come out declaring that there can be no rights apart from the functions that go with them. By this standard, private property is not an absolute right: the owner is to be looked on only as a steward, and what he holds has got to serve the public interest. Neither does political power bestow any absolute right upon its holder: the governor remains a servant, continually responsible to the people.

How these ideas can effectively be put into practice under any system less rigorous than socialism, this particular deponent does not see. But although socialism has often been called "inevitable," without a moral basis I can't see a reason for wanting it.

To work out this moral basis may yet become the function of those whom we call liberals. But our leadership will not consist in making expedient alliances for the sake of power. Just as a hundred years ago, the leadership for which the world cries out is one of ideas.

"THAT FUNNY FAT MAN"

*Harry H. Vaughan, the President's military aide
and close friend, furnishes conservative advice and
comic relief to his boss*

by Paul S. Green

WHY WOULD ANYONE want to write about Paul Revere's horse?" Major General Harry Vaughan booms at an inquiring visitor. In joking about his position in the White House as military aide and loyal comrade-in-arms to his old friend, Harry Truman, the burly Missourian doesn't always describe himself in equine terms. He also is apt to use such modest comparisons as a "hired hand," a "cog in the wheel," or "part of the props at White House social affairs."

The close intimacy of Harry Vaughan with the President of the United States dates back to early World War I days. One morning at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, Second Lieutenant Harry Vaughan walked in at officers' call just as the general was dressing down stiff, beet-red First Lieutenant Harry Truman. The general turned on Vaughan for being late, shifting his blistering attack away from the uncomfortable future President. A friendship began between the two lieutenants which continued as they served overseas in the same division. That alone should make Vaughan more than eligible to work at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. There is a saying in Washington that "If you blow a bugle outside the White House, within six minutes the whole damned division will be lined up in formation on the front lawn."

Making policy. From such origins, the relationship of Vaughan to the President has grown to the point where he spends more time with Truman than any other man in the Administration. Vaughan meets the President every morning at 8:15 at the bottom of the White House eleva-

tor and walks over to the office with him. At nine, he is present at the daily staff conference. They often lunch together, privately or with guests. During the day, Vaughan has leave to see the President at any time. At 5:30 he goes down to the pool to swim with his boss, or cheer him on. They attend evening functions together, not only formal social gatherings but occasional poker games.

On such occasions, Vaughan, a man of bouncing enthusiasms and earthy comedy, often swears good-naturedly at the President. Wearied by a steady diet of protocol and stuffed shirts, Harry Truman seems to need the sort of comic relief furnished by the Harry Vaughans and George Allens who have been around him at one time or another.

Comedy and Rabelaisian humor are not the military aide's only jobs. He is the liaison officer between the White House and the War Department, which gives him a powerful voice in military affairs. He is also the President's veterans' coordinator, which keeps him in touch with the work of 14 agencies concerned with veterans' affairs. He attended the Potsdam Conference, and his proximity to and close association with the President place him in a strategic position to give advice and influence decisions far out of proportion to his official job.

Vaughan likes to think of himself as the President's good right arm—the President's emissary and the voice from within. He tends to deprecate his influence over Truman. "Harry and I discuss numerous things," he admits, "but my influence over him is doubtful. I don't suppose anyone gives him more advice than I do—or has less of it used." Nevertheless, the association of the two is firm. From beginnings during and after World War I,

Vaughan's friendship with the President was strengthened in 1940 when he served as treasurer of Harry Truman's senatorial campaign committee. Elected, the Senator and future President brought Vaughan to Washington as his secretary.

When Truman became Vice President, he made a job for Vaughan as his military aide. It didn't matter that no Vice President had ever had a military aide before. A job had to be found for a friend, so the post was created. From there, Vaughan went into the White House.

From his official position as military aide and his personal role as the President's old friend and adviser, Harry Vaughan has his finger in many pies. What his intimacy with the President means, some Administration officials learn with sorrow. One high-placed Democratic figure complains that the "V" in Vaughan stands for "vacillating." He says Vaughan keeps telling the President, "Let's not do anything now, Harry. You can't get hurt if you wait."

Conservative filter. Others say that as a member of the White House inner circle, Vaughan keeps a vigilant eye on any liberal ideas which might filter through to the President. Vaughan doesn't get along with men like Bob Hannegan, formerly Postmaster General and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, or Clark Clifford, who writes most of the President's speeches.

The trend of his thinking on world affairs is revealed in some of his private remarks: "I told Harry he made a mistake in keeping Henry Wallace as long as he did. The best Secretary of Commerce we ever had was Herbert Hoover"; or, "The remark made by the first Roosevelt about speaking softly and carrying a big stick is more true now than it was then. No country ever got into a war that was prepared for it." Critics of Harry Vaughan point out that any man in a position to whisper such advice into the President's ear so often must produce some effect, if merely by osmosis.

Vaughan often mixes into second-

Paul S. Green, formerly with Stars and Stripes, CBS and the Overseas News Agency, is now free-lancing and writing a book.

BRASS-KNUCKLE PATRIOTS

THE AMERICAN LEGION recently hand-picked 75 Legion officials from all over the country and sent them through a "counter-subversive school" in Washington, where they were told how to squelch Communists and other left-wingers. Now the 75 are back at their posts, ready to pass the word along.

Meanwhile the Legion rank and file has been active along less academic lines. During the past several weeks, Legion groups in several states, using quasi-military tactics, have systematically stormed and disrupted political assemblies sponsored by organizations which the Legionnaires consider "un-American."

The Legion plan of attack is little more than a political adaptation of the *Landing Force Manual*. Up go the flares (advance publicity) to illuminate the target area; then comes the softening-up process (threats, pressure on public officials to ban the rally); and finally the assault, carried out in military dress and formation.

So far the technique has been successful, as the following examples show.

Pennsylvania. News stories of how the Legion smashed a Philadelphia PCA meeting (called to protest the J. Parnell Thomas House Un-American Activities Committee probe of Hollywood) made exciting reading, but much more significant than the flying fists was the Legion's tactical pattern.

Failing in its attempt to obtain an injunction to halt the rally in Independence Square, the Legion decided to take action. It set up its advance flare by publicly inciting "good Americans" to crush the scheduled meeting. Various unaffiliated ruffians simply interested in a good fist fight joined its forces. Meanwhile sympathetic newspapers trained their sights on the PCA.

The timing and organization of the assault ran smoothly. As the meeting was about to be held, a Legion "40-and-8" locomotive rolled into place

by Joseph P. Lyford

at one side of the square and immediately became the command post for around 200 Legionnaires, many of them uniformed and some armed with rifles. This group dominated the proceedings.

Within the open square, the vets formed tight knots at strategic points. One squad located itself near the speakers' stand and began to threaten and scuff up members of the audience.

As the first speaker arose, the vets laid down a barrage of boos and cat-calls and started fist fights among the crowd. The 40-and-8 locomotive turned on a piercing siren. As the disturbance grew, the vets began to throw things. A man on the speakers' dais was struck in the face. His glasses smashed and blood streaming down his cheek, he was led away.

Throughout the affair, the police made no serious effort to obstruct the veterans. The meeting was finally halted.

New Jersey. A "flying squadron" of Legionnaires, Catholic War Vets and Jewish War Vets simplified the Philadelphia plan in their attack on a Communist Party rally in Trenton. CWV and JWV leaders, with an exhortation to "break things up with a flag in one hand and a club in the other," brought out an angry, threatening

crowd of 3,000 persons which quickly extinguished the meeting.

The next night, in Jersey City, the vets broadened their crusade to picket a speech by Frank Kingdon, former president of the University of Newark, a PCA co-chairman and candidate for the Democratic nomination for US Senator. The tactics were identical with those used in Trenton.

A United Press dispatch from the scene named the CWV, the AMVET's, the American Legion, the Legion of Guardsmen, and a United Electrical Workers' local as the backbone of a picket line which repeatedly shouted such phrases as "Send the Reds back to Russia" and "Yeah, and Palestine, too." The pickets, reported the UP, blocked entry to the hall and indulged in Negro and Jew baiting.

And at Newark, Kingdon was again silenced by the same vet groups, which operated with tacit police support.

Connecticut. Spearheaded by Legionnaires, vets formed a 1,000-man picket line around a Bridgeport meeting hall where the Communist Party had scheduled Gerhart Eisler. The only man who attempted to speak was drowned out by stamping and singing. As usual, the vets had carefully prepared the public with their advance propaganda.

Outside the hall, a crowd of 2,000 people gathered, as the New York



DRAWING BY BEN SHAHN

Herald Tribune put it, to "watch the fun." The entertainment ended when the sponsors canceled the meeting.

California. The Legion target this time was a regular meeting of the La Crescenta Democratic Club being held in the home of Hugh Hardyman, a retired fruit grower and a member of the PCA. As Mrs. Emerson Morse, the 70-year-old president of the club, was calling the meeting to order, the door-bell rang.

When Hardyman opened the door, a score of men in American Legion caps marched stiffly into the crowded room and silently deployed among the guests. The intruders' leader ordered his men to "proceed according to plan." Two of the poker-faced Legionnaires, who carried flash cameras, began to take pictures of everyone in the gathering.

Then the Legionnaires' leader stepped forward and read a statement which ran something like this: "There need not be any violence. We veterans have been watching your activities in this community. We know your backgrounds and who you are, and we warn you that we will not tolerate your activities. We are going to give you 10 minutes to go home and thank God you live in the United States. If you go home, nobody will get hurt."

For emphasis, one Legionnaire flipped up his jacket to display a service pistol. Then the men filed outside to wait on the lawn. One small lady exclaimed tremulously, "Why, it's just like the Gestapo!" Instead of stopping the meeting, however, Hardyman called the sheriff, who dispersed the invaders without taking their names.

On the mark. The Legion and its allies among other vet groups have demonstrated in these operations that they are psychologically and tactically prepared for a sustained drive to smash political assemblies which, in Legion lexicon, are unpatriotic.

It remains for the 75 "counter-subversive-school" graduates to provide a coordinated national strategy. When this happens, the Legion will have synchronized its watches.

PREJUDICE IS CURABLE

Scientific studies have shown us numerous concrete ways in which the evils of discrimination can be fought effectively

by Bruce Bliven

A FEW YEARS AGO there was in a large American city a residential section chiefly inhabited by Jews. Eventually the more well-to-do Jewish families moved away, though the poorer ones remained. Negroes, most of them also poor, moved into the vacated dwellings. The area was badly overcrowded, with few public recreational or other facilities.

Tension began to mount dangerously close to the point of explosion. One day a baseball thrown from a schoolyard broke a window in the house next door. There was a mad rush of the frightened group of boys from the scene, in the course of which a Negro boy was accidentally knocked down, struck his head on the curb and was killed. Wild rumors ran through the district; a riot seemed likely.

Practical solution. At this juncture, a team of trained experts in inter-group relations was sent into the district to study the situation and see what could be done. They analyzed the facts carefully to be sure they were accounting for all of the elements in the conflict, then went to work. They did not waste their time making speeches about the dangers which come from prejudice, or distributing leaflets showing how minorities ought to stand together.

Instead, they unemotionally pointed out to the Jewish and Negro leaders that the area badly needed a playground; the broken window which had caused the death of the Negro boy had resulted from an attempt to play baseball in a completely inadequate area.

Leaders of the two groups saw the point. They began collecting funds to buy land for a real playground; most of the contributions which poured in were a dollar or less. When a wealthy

philanthropist, not a resident of the district, offered to make a substantial donation, it was politely but firmly refused. The people of this area wanted the playground to be their own project.

To be sure, tension still remains, and eradicating it will be a long, hard job, requiring many types of approach. Nevertheless, a sound beginning has been made.

This incident illustrates one very important attack upon the problem of anti-Semitism and other minority prejudice, which I have been discussing in this series of articles. I have shown that hatred based on race, religion or culture is a serious matter in the United States today, that it operates in many ways and at many levels in the community. It is reassuring to know that this whole problem is at present being attacked more intelligently and more vigorously than ever before, using the tools of modern science to determine what makes people prejudiced, and how this evil can best be eradicated.

Three suggestions. What follows is chiefly a summary of the views on practical procedure of such leading experts as Will Maslow of the American Jewish Congress, Abraham Citron, Dr. Isidor Chein and Dr. Max Wolff of the Commission on Community Interrelations of the AJC, Arnold Forster of the Anti-Defamation League and Dr. L. M. Birkhead of the Friends of Democracy, to name only a few. (None of these experts, of course, necessarily agrees with all the statements below.)

First, it is of the greatest importance that we should keep our whole society healthy and flourishing. Discrimination grows in times of insecurity and apprehension.

Second, prejudice must be fought at all levels, in all aspects, and in many ways, simultaneously.

Third, when we come to specific areas of activity, there are some phases of the problem which can be attacked directly and boldly.

Most important of all is education, to counteract the various types of prejudice which the child picks up, almost unconsciously, from his parents, in his school and from his playmates. Everything possible should be done to teach the truths which scientists have demonstrated in their laboratories in recent decades: that there are no inherited cultural characteristics, that all groups have the same potentialities, that variations—such as high or low intelligence—exist in all groups, that every human being is a product of his personal heredity and of his personal environment in the formative years.

Publicity, too. The next important field is that of law and social action. Every effort should be made to remove discrimination under existing law, whether federal, state or local. Every effort should be made to pass laws forbidding discrimination which arises from tolerated social custom. Other states should follow the example of the few which now have laws against discrimination in employment, public entertainment, advertising, etc., and a federal law of the same character is desirable.

Colleges should be legally compelled to abolish the selection of students on an arbitrary basis of race, religion or cultural background. As an immediate step, pending the passage of such laws, public money should be withheld from all educational institutions practicing discrimination. Tax exemption on their property should be canceled. Gifts to such institutions should no longer be tax-exempt.

The professional spreaders of prejudice, the salesmen of hate, whose activities I described earlier in this series, can be checkmated in several ways. Morris Ernst has proposed that all groups which attempt to influence public opinion should be required by

law to disclose the pertinent facts about themselves through systematic registration procedures, which would include the names and addresses of all who contribute money to their support.

There is the best of reason to believe that some of these ultra-nationalist supporters of anti-Semitism and other types of prejudice are receiving large contributions from wealthy men and women whose support would be stopped if news of what they are doing were made public.

Less secrecy. A great part of the vicious propaganda now being circulated is anonymous. The situation would be enormously bettered if anyone who distributes more than a few copies of any public statement—Ernst suggests 250 as the limit—were required by law to put on every piece of such material the name and address of the person or group responsible.

Legislation to this effect would be a logical extension of the law which now requires all newspapers and other periodicals to publish twice a year the name and addresses of all individuals owning more than one percent of their assets.

Some of the foregoing suggestions are embodied in the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, published in October, 1947. The committee recommends:

- ❑ Laws forbidding all types of discrimination;
- ❑ The prohibition, in particular, of discrimination in employment in all branches of the federal government and all institutions, public or private, which receive federal aid;
- ❑ The abolition of discrimination in the schools and colleges;
- ❑ Statutes against restrictive covenants in housing.

The committee recognizes of course that laws are not enough and that we also need public education. It suggests a long-term campaign of this sort.

The members of the President's committee also recognize that, at this moment, some of their recommenda-

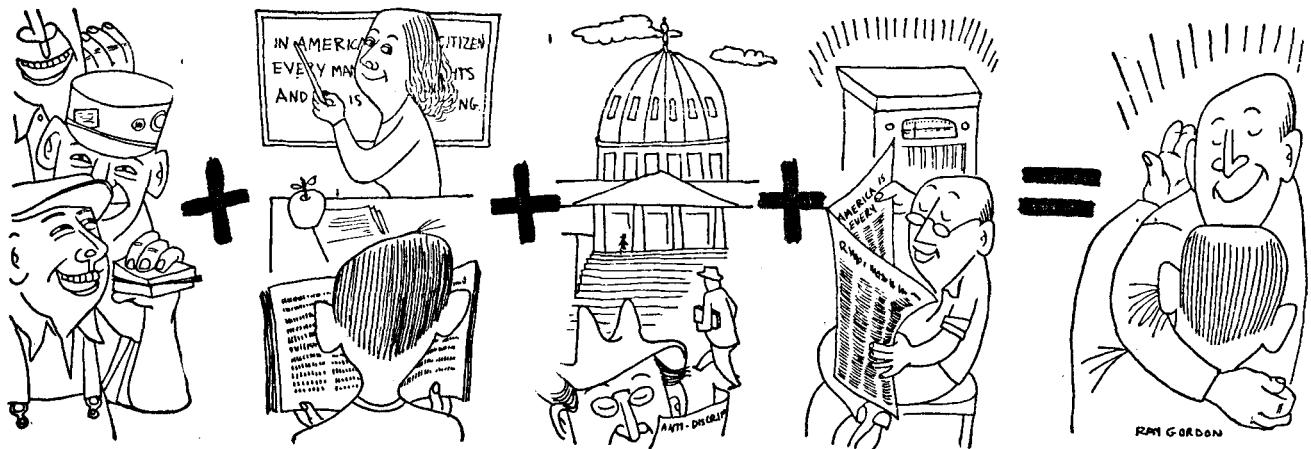
tions are counsels of perfection. It will take a long, hard fight, for example, to get Southerners in Congress to accept some of the proposals. Nevertheless, the report of the committee can be of tremendous importance. Because the authors did not compromise with opportunism, did not confine their recommendations to what is possible this year or next, their report will remain a guiding star for the enemies of discrimination for a long time to come.

Returning now to the view of the private experts in this field: They emphasize heavily the point that while we must work at every possible level and in every possible way, it is of tremendous importance to begin at the grass roots.

Since nearly all minority prejudice, such as anti-Semitism, exists to a greater or less extent on an emotional level, and is resistant to rational and logical argument alone, it is important to utilize an attack that is also at the emotional level and demonstrates by concrete action that all groups can work together for a common cause.

Effective technique. Whenever someone makes a remark derogatory to a minority group *and it is not answered*, careful tests have shown that at least one bystander in six has his prejudice increased. Yet if someone else who is present speaks up promptly, is unemotional and reasonable, and appeals to historic American democratic principles and a sense of fair play, the bad effect is offset.

An ambitious plan is now under way to train leaders in the task of combating anti-minority prejudice and practices, through trade unions, co-operatives, clubs and other groups of all types. These potential leaders are taught how to make a definite factual study of their community, or a part of it in the case of a large city, which will indicate the amount of discrimination existing there. They are shown how to develop charts and graphs which closely indicate, for example, the difference in wages and chance for advancement which exists between minority and majority-group members of equal educational and profes-



FULL EMPLOYMENT PLUS EDUCATION FOR ALL PLUS THE FORCE OF WISE LAWS PLUS ACCURATE INFORMATION EQUAL THE END OF PREJUDICE

sional preparation. This difference constitutes an "index of discrimination."

Interested individuals are shown what to do and what to avoid in attempting to reduce discrimination.

Of special importance is the fact that, in such cases, action follows upon research; indeed, action and research can often be combined in a single community project. The information that has been collected is not, as is so often the case with research studies, allowed to gather dust on the shelves, unread and ignored. (Anyone interested in obtaining further details of this work should write to the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, 212 West Fiftieth Street, New York 19.)

Discussion works. The fact that there are few prosecutions under laws against discrimination does not necessarily mean that the laws are not effective. For example, the New York Commission Against Discrimination, established by a recent state law, has changed the attitude of many hundreds of employers by private discussion with them, reinforced by quietly pointing out that discrimination is illegal and can be the cause of a fine or imprisonment.

Undoubtedly, in thousands of other cases, employers have modified their practices, without saying anything to anyone about it, since the new law came into force. Members of minorities who are seeking employment have had

their morale increased to an unmeasurable but certainly tremendous degree by the realization that now, when they are denied employment on arbitrary grounds of race, religion or national origin, they are no longer completely helpless as was once the case. Now they can "do something about it."

"Stand up, you!" It is also of the greatest importance that leaders of the community, people whose personal prestige is high with all sorts of groups, should "stand up and be counted" against prejudice of every sort. As Carey McWilliams has recently pointed out, if such leaders are silent on the issue of discrimination—or still worse, if they actually condone it—they give moral support to multitudes of little people who translate their prejudice into concrete action in the fields of employment, education, recreation and housing.

What we need, in plain English, is a lot of distinguished people who have guts enough to speak out, and to keep on speaking out, against this evil.

Thurman Arnold, former Assistant Attorney General of the US and an outstanding lawyer, was invited not long ago to join a golf club near Washington, D. C., where he is now practising. Sitting in the office of the club secretary, he wrote out a check for his initiation and first year's dues. Then he happened to notice on the secretary's desk a document about the club which contained the fatal words, "Gentiles only."

"Is that statement correct?" asked Arnold.

"Yes, sir, it is," said the secretary. "That's all I need to know," said Arnold. He tore up the check he had just written, tossed the pieces on the secretary's desk and walked out.

Dorothy Thompson, the widely known columnist and speaker, was at a dinner party several years ago where the conversation took an anti-Semitic turn. She listened for about half an hour to talk in which "the Jews" were blamed for everything that was out of sorts in the world. From consideration for her hostess, she stood it as long as she could, but finally she got up and said: "I've seen too much of the horrible results of this sort of thing and am leaving this place immediately." And she did.

Word soon got around among hostesses that here was one person who practices what she preaches. She is just as popular a dinner guest as she ever was—which is very popular indeed—but people no longer tell stories about Jews or other minority groups in her presence.

Another story. President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, whose chairman was Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, met over a period of months in the White House. The committee contained two Negro members. As the discussions continued, members of the committee began to realize more keenly than ever that the national capital itself practises segregation of

Negroes. It occurred to the committee-men that it might be interesting and useful to try a little experiment in breaking down the bars.

Purple waiter. One day at lunch hour the entire committee went over to a fashionable and exclusive hotel, and marched to the door of the main dining room. One of the white members spoke quietly to the head waiter. "I want a table for my party of 15," he said, indicating with a gesture his group, which, of course, included the two Negro members.

The head waiter turned several shades of purple, but he knew when he was licked; at least half the members of the committee were the sort of people known by sight to every hotel employee in Washington. "Yes, sir," he said meekly. The committee lunched together in the middle of a large and otherwise all-white clientele, not only that day, but on many subsequent days. And after that first time, there was not even a flicker of hesitation about giving them seats.

Washington hotels, of course, not only refuse Negro guests dining-room privileges, but bedrooms. One day, one of the white members of the committee called up the manager of another popular and fashionable hotel, a man known to him personally.

"Two friends of mine are in need of rooms for tonight," he said. "I hope you can accommodate them. They are Negroes."

"Yes, sir," said the manager. And that was that. From then on, the two Negro members stayed at that hotel whenever they were in Washington.

Leadership. William H. Harrison, vice-president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, held an important post in Washington during the war, in charge of a large body of civilian employees in the Signal Corps. One day, an additional worker was needed and, according to the rules, the office applied to the Civil Service Commission. The CSC sent over a Negro. Within an hour, a delegation from the white workers came into Harrison's office.

"You have just hired a Negro to work in this division," they said. "If you don't fire him instantly, all of us white workers will quit as of today."

Harrison looked at them thoughtfully for a long minute before he spoke.

"Is that all?" he asked.

"Don't you understand?" continued the spokesman. "We are all going to quit."

"I heard you," said Harrison. "Our new employee—who happens to be a Negro—is going to have a fair try at this job. I expect each of you to help, and I suggest that you go back to work. Is there anything else?"

The members of the delegation looked at each other silently for a moment, and then beat a retreat. They were all back at work the following morning. From then on, Negroes—a number of them—were employed in the division. Some of them were fired, too, but for proved incompetence, and not because of the color of their skin.

If we had a couple of hundred outstanding Americans who believed in civil liberties as do those I have quoted, we might well have an Archimedes lever which would move the world.

"I'm ashamed." But you don't have to be a big shot in order to stand up and speak when somebody indulges in prejudiced talk. On a crowded Fifth Avenue bus in New York City, not long ago, a woman passenger observed loudly that "all these Jews" are "crowding the buses, and it's an outrage."

A fellow passenger, a man, spoke up, in a calm and dignified way. "You ought to be ashamed of yourself," he said, "for such false and un-American talk." Whereupon another woman added her voice: "I agree with him. I'm a Christian, but it makes me ashamed to hear talk of this kind." Still another chimed in to the same effect.

During the war, this problem of emotional prejudice arose in many war plants when members of minorities, such as Negroes, were introduced to work alongside of biased whites.

In a big St. Louis plant, for ex-

ample, most of the workers were poor whites from the South, with strong anti-Negro attitudes; when a few Negro workers were hired, they threatened to strike. They were called together in groups and were talked to by a high official of the US Army, who pointed out that their work in the plant was just as necessary as that of soldiers in the front lines and that if they left their jobs for any reason, they would betray their fighting men and their country. It worked.

Intolerance needed! Experts are convinced that much actual discrimination and a great deal of the verbal expression of prejudice are practised merely because they have a passive cultural momentum. They are supported by the flimsy grounds of past practice. Much conversational bigotry, for example, is casual, indulged in merely because the individual pays no social price for its use.

When citizens challenge these customs in an intelligent and determined way, the practices simply collapse. What is needed is a complete and decisive abandonment, by more and more Americans, of old habits of passive acceptance of bigotry. We must develop active, vigorous intolerance—intolerance for the expression of prejudice.

I hope I don't need to emphasize again that only in a sound and healthy society, dedicated to peace and prosperity, can we maintain conditions which give real hope of finally ending this tragic evil of discrimination.

As international hostility mounts toward hysteria and pushes the nation into wartime totalitarianism, frustrated aggressions express themselves in attacks upon minorities. When depression grips the land, and there are a dozen—or a hundred—applicants for every job, the anti-Semite, the Negro hater, the opponent of those of Mexican or Oriental blood, has a field day. We must learn, however painful and disturbing the lesson may be to many of our financial, industrial and political rulers, to keep our economy on an even keel and to live at peace with the other nations of the world.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

WHAT WE FOUGHT FOR

by James Stewart Martin

THE EVIL that men do lives after them," quotes Lewis H. Brown, the author of *A Report on Germany* (Farrar, Straus; \$3), referring to Hitler's trapped-gangster death in the wreckage of Berlin. Then, with the consummate skill of a soap-opera ad writer, he throws in a non-sequitur punch line:

Likewise, the mistakes that men make in war and politics in combating the evil aggressor live after them. . . . We as Americans should be the first to recognize the great political mistakes made by our own leader [Roosevelt]. These mistakes live on today. . . . But there was one master mistake. That was made in 1943, when it was decided to send an Anglo-American army into Italy instead of Yugoslavia. . . . Because we sent no army into Yugoslavia in 1943, the Soviet is today in Budapest, Vienna, Warsaw, Berlin, and within 100 miles of the Rhine.

This picture of Soviet armies sitting menacingly *within 100 miles of the Rhine* is emphasized four times in the book, always with great rhetorical effect. The author finds the distance important. It lends an air of authenticity and nearness to the subject. As advertising technique, this confident repetition is effective. Despite the number of times I have driven the 250 miles from Düsseldorf on the Rhine to the Soviet barrier at Helmstedt, and the 200 miles from Mainz to the Soviet-zone frontier near Nordhausen—I traveled in this area constantly from early April, 1945, to the end of July, 1947—I found myself reaching uncertainly for a map and rechecking distances.

The book is like that. It bounces along, breathing the self-assurance that has come from "several weeks' first-hand study of the German situation":

All these things could be

done—and done with surprising rapidity by so industrious and resourceful a people as the Germans—if materials and properly fed manpower were available and adequate incentives existed to induce Germany to go to work with a will. (Italics mine.—J. S. M.)

Back-pedaling. We must get rid of the Morgenthau policy, as expressed in the Potsdam Agreement, says Brown confidently. We must stop trying to bring democracy to Germany. We must put the old, experienced management back in the saddle, build up German heavy industry and give the German people a taste of the old-line "leadership" they are so used to and love so well.

Brown leaves no doubt that the economic principles of the Potsdam Agreement represent the destructive and repressive philosophy of the Morgenthau Plan, that our policy in Germany so far has been destructive, and that this accounts for Germany's lag.

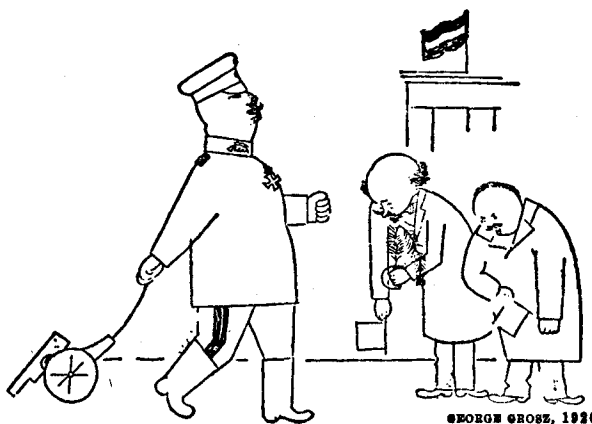
It requires only a few minutes' study of two documents to show that the Potsdam Agreement in no way represents the policy of industrial extirpation advocated by Morgenthau. The Potsdam Agreement provided that Germany should be fitted into the reconstructed European economy in such a way that she would not be in a position to dominate or control that econ-

omy, but would still be in a position to contribute on a peaceful and constructive basis. For that reason, the Potsdam Agreement provided not that the Ruhr mines should be closed, as the Morgenthau Plan proposed, but that coal production should be greatly enlarged. To keep the German population from depending more than was necessary on food imports, it provided further that food production in Germany should be stepped up to the greatest possible extent. On both these points, with much of their old-time management calling the plays and giving the advice, the Germans have dropped the ball completely.

No foundation. Brown has no trouble putting a sticky thumb on such talk. The miners don't mine coal because they are hungry and lack incentives, he says. While the French and Soviets pay nothing to feed their Germans and yet cart away surplus production, "our" Germans are so hungry they can't be expected to work, even though US and British taxpayers are footing a bill of several hundred million dollars a year to feed them. As for growing more food—the Russians have all the brown coal from which to make phosphate fertilizer. Brown says the brown coal "provided the slag from which phosphate fertilizer was manufactured."

Actually, prewar Germany imported about 885,000 metric tons of crude phosphate a year, half the imports coming from the US and most of the rest from French North Africa, with a little from Russia. The only large domestic source was basic phosphate slag, a by-product of the iron and steel industry.

Most of the slag was obtained from the Ruhr or imported from the steel dis-



tricts of France and Belgium. Brown coal is not, and cannot be, used to produce metallurgical coke.

The author evidently confuses the use of brown coal to produce hydrogen for the synthetic-ammonia process—out of which comes ammonium nitrate, a *nitrate* fertilizer—with the *phosphate* recovery from metallurgical slag. Nitrate production goes on today in all four zones. It is *phosphate* fertilizer which is particularly scarce in Germany.

However, while Brown's metallurgical and chemical facts may be fuzzy, his politics is still confident. It's all the fault of the Russians, anyhow.

Potsdam called for substantial increases in the light or consumer-goods industries which produce exportable items to counterbalance food imports and also provide consumer supplies for German domestic use. It also required reduction of the previous concentration of heavy industry, the prewar uneconomic mania of German leaders bent on autarchy. The artificial build-up of German heavy industry at the expense of idle equipment in France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg was to be avoided.

The needs of Europe were to be supplied first, so far as possible, by restoring maximum production in the non-German heavy-industry centers and rebuilding German heavy industry only to the extent necessary.

But Brown's "several weeks' first-hand study" has convinced him that everyone else was wrong.

"German militarism is dead. . . . It is time we quit fighting ghosts and got on with the real business of getting Germany back at work." Since we don't need to worry about a future German menace, we should scrap Potsdam and put German heavy industry out in front. To do that we have to give the industrialists assurance that they will retain control of their plants. Then they will call off their managerial sitdown strike:

Given such a clear-cut definition of policy, I am confident from the talks I have had with many German industrialists that they would immediately call their workmen together and inspire



GEORGE GROSZ, 1922

them with the idea that now they had a chance to rebuild Germany. The result would be a surprising application of energy and ingenuity applied to the program of getting production started.

The leading industrialists, given assurance of their continued control of plants and the certainty that "denazification" was over, could get Germany going in short order:

. . . We can let elected officials reign. But the best brains of Germany we can find, appointed by Uncle Sam who is destined to foot the bill, should rule, under our hand. In such a government the German masses would have confidence. They respect brains and from them they will take orders and like it—particularly if the fist of government is behind. That, to [the Germans] is leadership.

Lest we remain unclear about who are these best brains of Germany, Brown tells us four times: they are the far-seeing industrial and technical leaders of the economic life of Germany, "who had climbed on the Nazi bandwagon much as people climb on any . . . apparently successful bandwagon." Another point in their favor:

The sincere fear of Bolshevism by the more cultured of the German people also played a part in Hitler's rise to power. In all parts of Europe there were those who preferred the Nazis to the Communists, seeking the lesser of two evils, though with heavy heart. They little realized until too late that the difference in practice between these two forms of totalitarianism was trivial.

Brown chooses to ignore the fact

that we never really threw the German old guard out. He therefore concludes that we must reverse our policies on control of Germany, so as to put the former leaders back into power in order to build up Germany as a bulwark against Russia. He feels confident, and has the assurance of a number of leading German industrialists on the point, that in the event of war with Russia the Germans would, of course, be on the side of the United States, because "the very definite German fear of Russian domination is so great." If we "make possible recovery and a higher standard of living in Germany," we can be certain of this. Therefore

Nothing must interfere with this objective. When we once have production—when the economic machine is again working at a reasonably high level—then will be time enough for the German people to decide upon the refinements of reform.

But what about the recovery of the rest of Europe? The Marshall Plan has been, officially at least, a plan to rebuild Europe as a whole, not a plan to build up Germany as a buffer against Russia.

For the rest of Europe, especially France, Brown's formula is simple: cut off coal exports from Germany entirely. Put a moratorium on the annual shipment of 10 million tons of coal out of Germany, so that she herself can use the coal industrially. Then let the socialistic British government reverse its nationalization policy, put its miners back on a six-day week and get them to produce additional coal throughout the week by greater efforts. Apparently some leadership and some incentives should also be applied to the pants of British miners, who are lagging under "soft socialism." Then, having boosted British annual production by nearly 20 million tons, let France and the other countries get 10 million, which would otherwise have come from Germany; and Britain would still have five or ten million extra for her own economic needs.

Unfortunately one cannot simply dismiss this book for the nonsense it is. It has not been possible to detail its hundreds of falsifications and inaccuracies. Factually, a schoolboy could have done better sitting at home and reading the daily papers. But that is not the point.

Brown's trip to Germany was engineered by the use of a great deal of pressure in Washington, and from Washington to Germany. Brown's prefatory acknowledgments leave little doubt about the connection between his visit, and his observations thereon, and the rapprochement between the Morgan interests and the Dillon, Read group on the subject of aid to Germany.

Dillon, Read and Company, as a financial group, has long had the inside track for financial operations involving Germany—not merely

because some of its former members are high in government circles, but also because of the banking fraternity's custom of recognizing one another's "historical positions." Dillon, Read handled the major financial moves after World War I, which enabled Thyssen and the other Ruhr industrialists, who later backed Hitler, to get firmly entrenched in their control of the German economy.

The Morgan group, on the other hand, "historically" has had France for its bailiwick, and could have been expected to look with favor on some financial help to France. But this book shows how Morgan can eat its cake and have it, too. If France wants help, Britain can abandon nationalization, get out the coal for France; and France can come to "private investors or steel companies" in the United States for help.

Time for action. Something ought to be done about such a book. It is not enough to laugh at the silly repetitions, the juvenile and ignorant discussion based on a brief encounter with German guile and self-assurance. This book has had enough promotion to have sold *Forever Amber* twice over. The nation's business periodicals have been getting geared to ballyhoo it as a sensible and constructive proposal for a solution to the German problem.

The place to direct action, however, is not against Brown, who is having his fling in the spotlight, but against the operators behind the light. Specifically, the operators are the investment bankers who are advertising their newly found power over our official government policies. If this book in any sense represents United States policy, Vishinsky didn't say the half of it.

The only clear way to repudiate this policy of reversion to the old order, which Hitler called a "New Order," would be to get rid of the high-level policy makers who have arranged these efforts by "independent observers" to set out a new policy. This may be a good time for a congressional hearing on some matters that more directly



GEORGE GROSZ, ABOUT 1928

affect the security of the United States than some of the recent theatrics that have been holding the spotlight on Capitol Hill.

FURTHER EVIDENCE

THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA, by Vera Micheles Dean (Harvard University Press; \$3).

GANDHI AND STALIN, by Louis Fischer (Harper and Brothers; \$2).

"I WANT TO BE LIKE STALIN," translated by George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge (The John Day Company; \$2).

IF VERA MICHELES DEAN's *The United States and Russia*, the latest addition to the American Foreign Policy Library, could receive the attention it deserves, it would make a contribution toward substituting sanity and good sense for the growing hysteria about the Soviet Union.

Not for many months has any author regarded the relations between the two current world antagonists with such calmness, objectivity and intelligent understanding. Mrs. Dean is neither a zealot nor an apologist for the USSR; on the other hand, her objectivity is not of the sort which becomes pallid neutrality.

Up from slavery. The most valuable result of Mrs. Dean's scholarly but unpedantic knowledge of her subject is that she is able to view Soviet policy and conduct in the light of Russian history as well as of Marxist dialectics. It is no accident that the most bitter literary assailants of Stalin are the disillusioned ex-pilgrims to the Kremlin, who actually expected to see a Utopia in action in Moscow. They were thrown into agonies of unhappiness when they found a backward land and a technologically primitive people, painfully, cruelly, by the most back-breaking process of trial and error, striving to lift themselves from mediocrity to a world of the future.

For the same reason, it has been the less dreamy and more historically minded foreign visitors who have been the most deeply impressed by Soviet achievement, and most tolerant of the

weaknesses, the failures, perhaps even the cruelties.

Pot and kettle. Mrs. Dean disapproves of many things in the Soviet record, and all of them cannot be excused by an appeal to the background of nationality and history. But by understanding the historical reasons involved, it is possible for Americans, while continuing their hatred for the police state and the aggressive tactics of Russian diplomacy, to appreciate the progress which has been made by the USSR and to take a less impassioned attitude toward the problem of getting along with the great and dynamic, if difficult, nation.

As the author says, "within the span of 25 years Russia has telescoped many of the revolutions which in other countries were spread over several centuries." The Russians, "nurtured in a tradition of absolutism," have been concerned with economic, rather than political, right. Mrs. Dean believes that by improving the physical conditions of life and encouraging the spread of education, the Soviet government is placing in the people's hands "a weapon which may some day be used to secure political liberty."

An American trait that is probably the most maddening, not only to Russians but to foreigners who are far more sympathetically inclined toward us, is our smug conviction that somehow we are more virtuous than the rest of the world, and that everyone should realize it. It is a trait which makes us sure that none could accuse us of aggressive designs when we demand control of the islands and bases our Army and Navy think we need, no matter how geographically threatening they may seem to other nations, since we know our hearts are pure.

Mrs. Dean brings up innumerable matters which might have the chastening effect of reminding us that there may occasionally be something to be said for the other side. In particular, she refers us to our insistence on democratic freedom in the Balkans, when we have failed to concern ourselves with Franco's Spain, Peron's Argentina or, for that matter, with some



of our own Southern states. Such behavior, understandably, seems somewhat suspicious to the Russians. "Democracy in the Western sense," she says, "cannot be expected to flourish in Eastern Europe and the Balkans unless economic and social conditions are fundamentally improved." And the Russians have justification for their belief that our objection to radical coalition governments in such countries is just another case of our ardent enthusiasm for the status quo. *The United States and Russia* suggests that this curiously reactionary ardor overlooks the fact that "reaction fosters communism instead of halting it."

Antidote. When Louis Fischer says that "the future of democracy in Russia depends on the future of democracy outside Russia," he seems for the moment to be seconding the belief that the Soviet Union, for all its dogmatism, possesses a flexibility which makes it capable of democratic development. But Fischer is one of those disillusioned believers in a Kremlin Utopia who now advocates an international government leaving out the USSR, which has nothing to offer even to backward Asia, and a "political war for democracy against communism." His violent revulsion from Moscow has not had the effect of hurling him among the reactionaries in the fashion of so many of his fellow enthusiasts, and in *Gandhi and Stalin* he still believes it is possible to conduct an anti-Soviet campaign in this country without turning it into a war against all forms of progressive democracy and constitutional liberty.

This, however, is by no means one

of his major works, for, at his best, Fischer is far more realistic and persuasive. His newest book is notable only because of the manner in which it shows how its author, in grave need of another hero to take the place of his lost Stalin, was driven to select the Mahatma as "an antidote to Stalin" and as "the symbol of the individual against the strong government."

McStalin's Reader. In the work which they scornfully call "*I Want to Be Like Stalin*," George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge obviously believe they have an anti-Soviet bombshell. They have translated from the Russian of B. P. Yesipov and N. K. Goncharov a Ministry of Education textbook for the instruction of Soviet teachers. In his introduction, Counts says it is presented as a horrible example of what the USSR plans for its unfortunate youth. When you turn to the text you do find some of the xenophobia, the lack of appreciation for the American war effort and the adulation of Stalin and Lenin he warns you about, but on the whole the precepts offered are remarkably worthy. The Soviet schoolboy is to be told that he must be honest, industrious, clean, honorable, courteous, respectful to his parents, filled with initiative, friendly to other people and races, and modest. He is told that morality plays "a great role in the life of human society." It doesn't sound so dangerous.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

WRITERS IN CHAOS

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, Maxwell Geismar published *Writers in Crisis*, the first volume of a projected history of the American novel. It considered the years between 1925 and 1940. He has now pushed back as far as 1915, in a crablike progress toward the Civil War, and his second milestone is called *The Last of the Provincials* (Houghton Mifflin; \$3.50). The writers chosen for examination are H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, Sherwood Anderson and F. Scott Fitzgerald. They claim Geismar's attention as foremost among the na-

tional renegades, and as guides on "all the singular spiritual pilgrimages, those exotic voyages of malaise which were the matrix of our literature in the late nineteen-twenties."

For the most part, the book is a summary of literary careers, specific books, dominant ideas and states of mind of the period, written in a kind of loose paraphrase or mimicked idiom of the individual authors. Evaluation of their work is on moral rather than literary grounds, and is pretty well formulated in the not unfamiliar conclusion that the "literary movement of the American twenties was to end almost everywhere on a note of emptiness and bitterness, disease and despair; negation and exhaustion."

Writers of this period, we gather, are predominantly significant as articulate neurotics, and from such a viewpoint, the number-one case history in the "pattern of artistic withdrawal and negation" is H. L. Mencken, whose "sense of disease . . . is matched only by his fear of change—and the fear of change is matched only by his sense of disaster." He is "led to the void by his own antics," and presumably the lost generation followed him over the edge.

Fitzgerald obligingly documented his crack-up, but the compulsions of Sinclair Lewis are demonstrated in the essential weakness of his work: he is imprisoned within the world he condemns, his values are the values of that world, and he has no real faith in any alternative. His career demonstrates the cycle of the recalcitrant child who has only to vent his spleen and exhaust his first wind to return home as the most hidebound Babbitt of them all. "This intrepid social rebel and fierce critic of the national manners is in the end . . . completely at one with his subject."

Geismar is thoroughly familiar with his subjects, even seems to enjoy them, and has a shrewd sensitivity to them best expressed in parody. His book claims to be a history, and is, indeed, a useful survey of the period. But the whole is marred by what passes for critical standards: an easy assumption of some unformulated optimistic or

"positive" viewpoint from which he can so neatly and smugly place (and implicitly condemn) people as "uneasy souls who cavort down blind alleys and pound against mirrors in the attempt to evade reality and cherish illusion."

One more unfortunate. A study of *Thomas Wolfe*, by Herbert J. Muller (New Directions; \$2) has been added to the series called "The Makers of Modern Literature." The book begins by surrendering most reasons for considering Wolfe at all, and although Muller makes a logical and generous case for the "virtues of his defects," it is the latter which preponderate.

The crippling defect of Wolfe's work, suggests Muller, was his "prolonged inability to dominate his material, to master any kind of form" because "he had no *specific* artistic purpose." On the other hand, he had an overwhelming and flamboyant concept of the artist's vocation. "His myth was the religion of genius, his controlling image the romantic image of the godlike artist as one possessed, set apart from his fellow men." This Muller calls a "typically American" attitude, a variant of the rugged individualist.

It is certainly a myth fostered by the conditions in America for artistic creation, and one extravagantly espoused in Wolfe's expressed belief that "the discovery of an entire universe and a complete language, is the task that lies before" the American artist.

With a kind of impoverished pride, Wolfe rejected "the cultures of Europe and of the Orient" and depended on "no antecedent scheme, no structural plan, no body of tradition" that could be found in them. His pride remained to him, distended and distorted, but he was all the poorer for the lack of at least the "scheme" and the "structure." Indeed, with all his floundering powers and stunted possibilities, he is tragic evidence that Geismar's quintet were by no means the "last of the provincials."

JOHN FARRELLY

FARM: Attack on the Co-ops

GRASS-ROOTS INDIGNATION over the taxation hearings of the House Committee on Ways and Means and the House Small Business Committee has encouraged the Democrats, as predicted, to take advantage of this reaction and attack the two Republican committees.

An attempt is being made to persuade the American people that farm coöperatives are tax dodgers. The organization behind this campaign is the National Tax Equality Association, headed by Ben C. McCabe, which, according to Representative Wright Patman (D, Tex.), has collected a big slush fund to be used against co-ops.

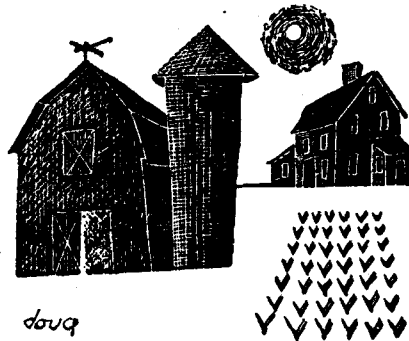
Membership in the national organization does not include state organizations. Witnesses claimed that groups in the states are just outraged citizens who get together because they are being put out of business by co-ops.

A study released last month by the Treasury Department, "The Taxation of Farmers' Coöperative Enterprises," proves this is untrue. Although co-op business has increased a great deal of late years, the business of other types of firms selling to farmers or buying from them has increased just as much.

Farmer Lewis. An interesting sidelight on the hearings was the testimony of Fulton Lewis Jr. and W. G. Wysor, general manager of the Southern States Coöperative, Inc., who are still carrying on their personal feud. Lewis was expelled from the co-op in October because of his attacks on it. He said that patronage dividends issued as stock were of doubtful value, were not cashable, and that he was forced into the coöperative because he couldn't get feed anywhere else.

Here is a sample of his testimony:

Lewis: "I had a large number of hickens, some thousands of chickens and some hundreds of turkeys. . . . The only feed that I could buy in St. Mary's County was Southern States Coöperative feed. Therefore I bought that."



The chairman: "Were there not any other sources from which you could have purchased feed?"

Lewis: "I exhausted the countryside, sir. If there had been any others I would certainly have used them."

Wysor took the stand and presented some interesting facts about "farmer" Lewis' chicken and turkey business. He introduced records showing that Lewis purchased \$51.15 worth of feed from the co-op in 1942, no feed in 1944, no feed in 1945, \$220 worth in 1946 and \$55.45 worth in 1947. I would like Lewis to show me how he can feed thousands of chickens and hundreds of turkeys at so little expense. He is the most amazing poultryman I ever heard of.

As for Lewis' inability to cash his stock, Wysor pointed out that 33,000 farmers in the coöperative had cashed theirs since Lewis joined in 1942 and had received "every cent."

Tax on dividends. Representative Walter C. Ploeser (R, Mo.), chairman of the House Small Business Committee, which investigated coöperatives several months ago, presented the Ways and Means Committee with a plan almost as bad as that of the NTEA. The NTEA wants to tax all patronage dividends as profits of the coöperatives. Ploeser's idea is that if the coöperatives and other non-profit groups are to have any exemption, that same exemption should be extended to profit corporations. He would also treat patronage dividends and profits

of a corporation as one and the same.

In considering arguments for and against taxation of patronage dividends it is important to know how coöperatives operate. Marketing co-ops do not advance the farmer the full amount they expect to get for his product. They need an operating margin that is sufficient to take care of expenses and fluctuations in price. For example, the Sun Maid Raisin Growers' Co-op of California initially advanced its patrons \$5,429,000 (1935-46) on products sold, but finally received \$11,632,000 on the products. The close to \$5 million additional which co-op members received in the form of patronage dividends were never the property of the co-op and certainly could not be classed as profits.

Political issue? One thing that bothers enemies of co-ops is that a law taxing patronage dividends as co-op income would be declared unconstitutional. Another obstacle is that there is much legislation on the books which protects and encourages coöperatives. Among these are the Farm Loan Act (1916), the Packers and Stockyards Act (1921), the Capper-Volstead Act (1922), the Coöperative Marketing Act (1926-29) and the Farm Credit Act (1933). But the existence of a federal policy of 30 years will not deter such Representatives as Harold Knutson (R, Minn.), Noah Mason (R, Ill.) or Robert A. Grant (R, Ind.). They don't give a hoot about tearing down the protection that has been given the farmer in the market place, where he has to deal with multi-billion-dollar corporations.

However, these men and others in the Republican Party probably sense the danger that exists in antagonizing farmers in a political year. Coöperatives are strong in Republican states and farmers will use political action to protect their co-ops. Republican leaders know this and therefore will probably not support Knutson and Ploeser on their promised legislation. The Democrats will thus not be able to make the war on co-ops as much of a political issue as they so ardently hope.

ANGUS McDONALD

RADIO: Nosegays for 1947

GOOD WILL is upon this commentator, as—by tradition, at least—upon the world at large. So let various and sundry, one by one, stand beneath the mistletoe, to receive citations:

CBS: For your Documentary Unit. It is without doubt the most important contribution to a responsible radio made this year. I look forward particularly to your year-end review of the status of minority groups in the United States, scheduled for the night of December 30.

NBC: For cultural contribution beyond the call of duty in giving Arturo Toscanini the budget and breadth of artistry for his "Otello" broadcasts with outstanding vocalists and your symphony orchestra. Also for your experimentation, in conjunction with the Theatre Guild, toward better drama on television.

ABC: For sticking out your neck: by selling time to the AFL in its radio fight against the Taft-Hartley bill; by giving time to the Hollywood Committee on the First Amendment when it opposed the Un-American Activities Committee's hysteria against film writers and directors.

MUTUAL: For developing the year's outstanding radio production team, consisting of director Mitchell Grayson, writer Arnold Perl, composer John Gart, and giving this team an opportunity to lead your network into the documentary form through the "Your Children" series. As a result of this start, you are now the only network committed to dramatize "To Secure These Rights," the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The report was a natural for radio—but too hot, apparently, for anyone else to handle.

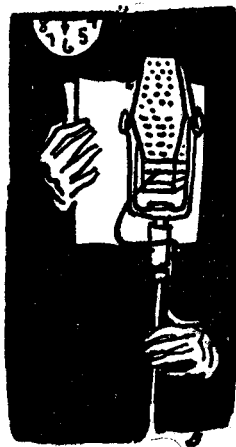
For and against. Not all of these citations may be welcome to the recipients, but here are some rough appraisals on both sides of the ledger:

The Federal Communications Commission: One week, you knuckled under to J. Edgar Hoover, against your own colleague, Clifford J. Durr (the NR, December 15). Now you have let J. Parnell Thomas bulldoze you into requesting that the networks provide transcriptions of their excellent reports broadcast during Thomas' circus attack on Hollywood. You are supposed to be an independent agency.

The National Association of Broadcasters: Your just published, 322-page "gray book," *Broadcasting and the Bill of Rights*, sets up a row of straw horses and proceeds to bowl them over. You present your version of the arguments against newly proposed radio legislation—but there are voices on the other side of center, too.

Ford Dealers: First you bought Fred Allen for sponsorship beginning in January, and now you've taken on Mutual's new Thursday (9:30 p.m.) quiz show, "RFD—America." Not satisfied with the best comedian on the air, you've also taken over this newest, and certainly one of the best, audience-quiz programs. Slanted to the rural trade, "RFD" seems fresh as a prairie breeze to a listener whose outdoor limit is the steppes of New Jersey.

Abe Burrows: Now that CBS has given you an earlier time Saturday nights—at 7:30—because Listerine sponsors you, you're in the big time.



Your spoofing songs are still superior to anything Noel Coward ever attempted, and in the best American idiom. But under commercial sponsorship, how satirical can you stay?

Frank Stanton, president of CBS: Now that you have succeeded with "CBS Views the Press," that very fine show which takes the New York press apart every Saturday evening over your local outlet, WCBS, when are you going to follow through logically by instituting (1) press critiques for the other regions of your network? (2) a companion program devoted to criticism of radio on the radio?

NBC and ABC: In passing out Christmas bonuses to your employees, you discriminated, for the second year running, against every staff announcer, producer, director, writer, etc., who belongs to a trade union.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: Your version of BBC's "Third Program" seems exciting to read about, but one must listen before one can judge. Until it is possible to pick up the CBC Wednesday-night shows of superior significance, will readers help us by volunteering opinions?

Girl Scouts of America: Your plan to train some of your 615,000 "intermediate" members (in the 10-14 age group) as intelligent radio listeners is revolutionary. Ten or 15 years from now, these girls will be club leaders and community tone-givers; they will, presumably, be equipped to criticize broadcasters intelligently and forcefully. Do you think the industry really wants that kind of listener-participation? Be reasonable, ladies.

To All Readers of This Department: Frequently enough to be helpful, some of you write your own comments on these weekly animadversions. That's not only instructive, but flattering. Thanks. But network and station people are just as human. Won't you write to them, too, regularly and often—not only in protest, but in praise when a boost is indicated? "Broadcasters," as it has been remarked here before, "have big ears." Meanwhile—Happy New Year! SAUL CARSON

FOREIGN PRESS: Austria

PARTY POLITICS is a matter of deep concern to the average Austrian citizen, so it is not surprising that the predominantly party-sponsored Austrian newspapers devote a good part of their space and editorial energy to sniping at opposition parties and eulogizing their own. Party antagonisms pop up in the most unlikely places—for instance in crime reports.

Arbeiter-Zeitung Witness the case of one Josef Banninger, small-fry officer of the Communist Party cell in the town of Kematen. On November 30, a small item tucked away in the crime column of Vienna's Socialist Party daily, *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, reported that during the previous night, Banninger stalked the streets of his town firing wild shots into the homes of the local Socialist Party chairman and the local paper-factory foreman. No one was hurt, and the reporter dismissed the incident as "probably due to Banninger's having sought consolation in wine for the recent defeat of his party in the shop-steward elections at the paper factory."

Banninger and his nocturnal exploits would undoubtedly have sunk into the limbo of minor misdemeanors had not the Communists—never noted for too robust a sense of humor—taken umbrage at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung's* singling out a CP member as having been drunk. So, in their party organ, *Volksstimme*, the Communists retaliated by reporting that the Kematen hooting fray was actually the aftermath of a drunken brawl in which all persuasions, including the Socialists, had been involved, commenting that this was not an unusual occurrence."

The lid was off. By December 2, Banninger jumped into headline prominence. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* printed scathing editorial under the headline "Pistol-packing Hero of the Communist Party," describing in lurid detail how Banninger had sneaked up to the homes of the two Socialists, rung

their doorbells, given them just enough time to come to the doors, then fired point-blank. "Only slowness in answering their doorbells saved the two Socialists from certain death," said the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, launching into an attack on the Communist Party, which does not hesitate to besmirch the fair name of the Kematen townsfolk to defend this "Communist hero."

I report this tempest in the Austrian teapot at some length because it is a fair example of the type of party-political reportage that often crowds out world events from papers whose average size is four tabloid pages.

Nachrichten There are, however, at least two notable exceptions to this party mentality: the *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, published in Linz, and the *Salzburger Nachrichten*. Started as single-sheet emergency affairs by US Military Government in the early days of Austria's liberation, they were the first newspapers the local population had seen in several weeks, and the first unbiased, independent reportage since before the Anschluss. At first, both papers were run by US personnel with the aid of such local anti-Nazis as could be found. In October, 1945, Austrian editors were given control of the papers.

This was the critical moment. We had licensed several newspapers representing the three legally permitted political parties: the People's Party, predominantly Catholic and right of center; the Socialist Party, which is about as anti-Communist as the American Liberal Party; and the Russian-dominated Communist Party. The party-organ editors felt their first responsibility was to the party leaders. Their secondary loyalty, if any room were left for it, was to their public.

Salzburger Nachrichten But the men to whom we had finally entrusted the operation of Salzburg's and Linz's *Nachrichten* cared little for

party politics and party politicians. Hans Behrmann of Linz's *Nachrichten*, a former editor and publisher and Mauthausen-concentration-camp graduate; former newspaperman and Dachau alumnus Gustav Canaval of the *Salzburger Nachrichten*; and his helper Max Dasch, who saved Salzburg's printing press when retreating Nazis tried to blow up the plant, got together to try a daring experiment in postwar Austrian newspaper publishing.

They gathered a group of leading citizens in their respective cities, representing labor, business, arts and sciences and all political parties—every man on this advisory board was a former concentration-camp inmate—and decided to run their newspapers on a profit-sharing basis: one-third to management for plant improvements, one third to the workers, and one third to the city and state for reconstruction purposes.

Two coöperative newspapers were born.

Within a few months, circulation figures attested their success. The *Salzburger Nachrichten* reached 130,000; its closest rival, the People's Party organ *Volkszeitung*, had 20,000. In Linz, the independent *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* climbed to 200,000; the local People's Party *Volksblatt* running second with 40,000.

Of the two papers, the *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* wields more influence, probably because of publisher Behrmann's skill at playing off party antagonisms for his own—and other independent Austrian publishers'—benefit.

He supports issues regardless of party sponsorship; his attacks are virulent and enough read to bring pressure on the stoutest party politicians.

Since he has refused to adhere to any one party line, Behrmann has been successively accused of being: communist, reactionary, intent on building a new and fourth party. But judging by the contents of his paper, he is just a good newspaperman, trying to present facts as he sees them and to give his readers a well rounded, unbiased and lively newspaper.

EVA PUTNAM

MOVIES: The Wreckers

IT IS BAD ENOUGH that the picture producers must lean so heavily on outside sources, and particularly on fiction, for their ideas; it is considerably worse when they shamelessly rework these sources to their own standards, with no regard for the purpose of the original creator.

The tiresome answer to this point of view is that the film, being a mass entertainment, must be understandable to the greatest common denominator of its audience and offensive to no group potent enough to command six inches of type in a daily newspaper. This argument won't wash. If what appears between the covers of a given book is unsuitable to their needs, the producers can look elsewhere; they can even take the bold step of creating their own stories. They have no excuse for ripping to pieces the work of better men in their search for a little box-office honey.

Graham Greene's *The Labyrinthine Ways* is a novel of a degraded Catholic priest who stuck on in Mexico during the period of the savage anti-clerical reforms. By all the standards of the church he was deplorable. He had begotten a child in a moment of sordid despair, he was drink-sodden, he hated the peasants who demanded solace of him, who forced him to risk his craven life and readily died to shield him. He was also God-ridden in the sense of Francis Thompson's "Hound of Heaven," from which the novel's title was taken, and he stood as an image of the tragic, hopeless tangle of good and evil the human soul typically becomes. *The Labyrinthine Ways* was a sour and disturbing book; an insight, serious if not profound, into the contradictions of cowardice and courage and into the human necessity for salvation.

With this book before them, Dudley Nichols has written and John Ford has directed "The Fugitive," a picture that converts Greene's story into a mawkish tale of suffering nobility. It

removes the lust and the drink, it removes the cruel intelligence of the man, and reveals Henry Fonda, looking and acting like Richard Barthelmess in "Tol'able David." This is no embittered failure, sick from being hunted and rotten with his own vices; it is a young seminary student with his eyes fixed on glory.

There are good things: fine photography that only occasionally slips over into artiness; a brilliant nightmare performance by J. Carroll Naish as the half-mad, superstitious police informer. They make the basic failure of integrity the more offensive.

It is not surprising that the Catholic magazine, the *Sign*, has presented "The Fugitive" with its annual award for the outstanding picture of the year. The film was made to the propaganda standards of professional Catholicism. But it is not necessary to be a devout Christian to resent the symbolism of permitting Fonda's shadow to assume the form of the crucifixion or to show his sandled feet walking rough cobblestones to execution. There are religious as well as artistic objections to ending the picture in a cheap miracle, with the cross glowing in the darkness like a neon-lighted trademark. It has apparently not occurred to the editors of the *Sign* that it is possible to be sacrilegious in the name of the Lord.

Voice of the people. The program notes for Artkino's "The Great Glinka" close with the information that Russian critics "unanimously regard it as an outstanding Soviet cinema production." This is not precisely the endorsement to disarm non-Russian critics; nevertheless "Glinka" is very probably the best screen biography of a composer that has thus far been made.

"Glinka" takes the trouble to show a composer working at his art—learning its craftsmanship, studying its literature, struggling to make it say what

he wants it to say. In the person of the actor Boris Chirkov, it imagines Glinka to have been a mercurial but robust man, energetic, emotional, domineering, humorous, deeply concerned with the society of his times. It may be propaganda, but at least it seems likely.

Only the brief opening scenes, which attempt to establish the precocious talent of the child Glinka and to sketch the impressions that shaped his genius, are forced and obvious. The rest is absorbing entertainment. The music, particularly as performed by the Bolshoy Theater Choir, sounds first-rate to an unprofessional ear.

"Glinka shows a tender indulgence in its portrayal of the exquisites who peopled the polished world of Nicholas I that is surprising in good proletarian entertainment. These courtiers and gallants are presented for our contempt, no doubt, but there seems to be a whisper of nostalgia in the staging. Faint as it is, it's a pleasant antidote to the routine spectacle of roused peasants streaming off to repulse Napoleon that provides the propaganda climax to the first section of the film. I hope no one gets into trouble for permitting his subconscious to crank the camera.

Red-blooded. John Wayne and Laraine Day are showing at the moment in an RKO Radio package, "Tycoon."

A group of railway engineers bossed by Wayne, are driving a tunnel through a Latin American mountain. The owner of the railroad is a cold fish of a puritan, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, who is fanatically but understandably solicitous for the reputation of his daughter, the warm-blooded Miss Day.

Wayne meets Day; Wayne woo Day; Wayne and Day get stranded overnight in an Indian temple; the Wayne-Day nuptials take place as quick as papa can say shotgun.

Up on the mountain, the tunnel begins to sag and groan; the buddies need concrete and Wayne's new father-in-law has a corner on the available supply.

If this is your first trip to a picture

show, your hands may get a bit moist at this point. Old friends of the story, however, will welcome the nightlong rescue work, the death of "good old Curly," the fight among the buddies, the departure of the bride, the cloud-burst that brings the gang together again, with the boss's wife right out there helping the other women serve doughnuts and coffee.

Fantasy. Jean Cocteau's "Beauty and the Beast" is a transcription of the fairy tale. The beast is too repellent for any but the most unimpressible children, and the film as a whole will

confirm adults in their belief that they have outgrown fairy tales.

The celebrated Cocteau imagination appears to have been drowsing through this production. It rigs up some human forearms that stick through holes in the walls to hold candelabra and it has a couple of caryatid heads at either side of the grand fireplace that follow the movements of the actors like spectators at a tennis match. There is an enchanted white horse that looks as though he'd been recently retired from a milk route. The actors are bewitched, all right, but that's the extent of the magic.

ROBERT HATCH

JAZZ: Celluloid and Wax

ONE OF THE NICE THINGS about reviewing records is the fact that you occasionally get a chance to do a little free loading. I took advantage of such an opportunity a few nights ago, when Rudi Blesh, of Circle records, invited the press to drink his liquor and see a short film entitled "St. Louis Blues," the only movie ever made by the late Bessie Smith. Alcohol is the oldest device in the world for oiling reviewers into receptive frames of mind, but as things turned out, Blesh could have served oatmeal. The picture was magnificent.

A press release tells me that "the film might be termed a true folk opera," and there's more than a little truth in this statement, for the plot (I use the word for want of a better one) is as corny as anything at the Met, if a little more basic. Cast aside by her lover, a snappily dressed individual with a roving eye, Bessie makes for the nearest gin mill, wraps herself around a beer and weeps her way magnificently through the blues until the lover shows up and effects a reconciliation long enough to relieve Bessie of her remaining cash. Of course, this "plot" is merely a framework for the music (arranged by W. C. Handy and J. Rosamond Johnson), and the music is what counts.

Bessie is backed up by a chorus of

voices and a fine jazz band that includes Joe Smith (trumpet), Happy Cauldwell (clarinet), James P. Johnson (piano) and Kaiser Marshall (drums). Besides the music, there's a good portion of uninhibited Harlem humor.

The picture, made in 1929, was recorded on a single, primitive crystal mike, which accounts for the exceptionally poor balance, and there are other imperfections. But you can forget these minor things because Bessie is there, swinging with the great big wonderful voice that has never been approached in warmth and honesty. After all this come-on I hate to tell you that, due to the lack of subtlety

in its references to extra-marital recreation, "St. Louis Blues" has been banned from public exhibition, although it will be shown once more at the Bessie Smith memorial concert in New York's Town Hall on January 1. However, Blesh has put the soundtrack into a four-side album (\$2.88, including tax), now on sale at some dealers and at Circle Sound, Inc., 38 East Fourth Street, New York 3.

Notes. Another soundtrack album is M-G-M's "Good News" (M-G-M 17; \$3.75), featuring June Allyson, Peter Lawford, Joan McCracken, Patricia Marshall and a chorus of 20 million. It's slightly on the production side, as you'd expect, but sprightly entertainment. . . . "The Best Things in Life Are Free," from the same picture, is handled with Dinah Shore charm on Columbia. Reverse is "At the Candlelight Café," a dog. . . . Frank Sinatra does justice to a pair of outstanding songs from "High Button Shoes": "Can't You Just See Yourself" and "You're My Girl." These top my popular list.

Arthur Godfrey is as easy to take as ever on Columbia's "I'm a Ding-Dong Daddy" and "A Porter's Love Song to a Chambermaid." . . . Nellie Lutcher's little brother Joe produces some nice beat and interesting solo work on Capitol's "Shuffle Boogie" and "Bebop Blues." . . . The King Cole Trio has dug up the ancient and honorable "What'll I Do?" and applied the sophisticated treatment. Reversed by "I Feel So Smoochie," it's one of their neatest (Capitol). . . . Best dance bet is Benny Goodman's "Sweet and Lovely" and "Ooh Looka There, Ain't She Pretty."

Muggsy Spanier, after two years of sitting behind a cornet at Nick's in New York, has gone to Chicago. He's replaced by Billy Butterfield, who's doing some admirable things with his own horn. . . . The musicians at nearby Eddie Condon's have recently found a diversion that keeps them off the streets. Under the supervision of Wild Bill Davison, they're building a model railroad in the night club's cellar.

CHARLES MILLER



THEATER: The Earth Stands Still

THERE HAS BEEN considerable discussion, some of it quite acrimonious, about the propriety of having an institution called the Experimental Theatre put on a work in which an actor of Charles Laughton's standing plays the leading part. The argument has leaked over to include the Experimental Theatre's next production, "Skipper Next to God," with John Garfield. According to the critics of the enterprise, it would seem that nothing a well known actor can do on a stage can properly be considered an experiment. This, of course, is nonsense, and the sponsors of the project are to be congratulated for fulfilling handsomely, in Bertolt Brecht's "Galileo," the promise of the organization's title.

The play is noble in theme, relentlessly unconventional in execution, and it permits Laughton to escape, if only for six performances, the absurd, minor

warblings which have recently been his lot in Hollywood. Equipped with an abstract set, a fluttering gauze curtain that is drawn at the end of each scene by a small boy with a pole, projections of Renaissance drawings and paintings, and intermittent choruses with music by Hanns Eisler, sung by three choir-boys, it could hardly be called a standard Broadway performance.

Aside from its technical innovations, the story of Galileo's martyrdom by Authority is bitterly apposite for today's audiences. The heresy hunters are almost as busy today in Washington as they ever were in Florence, and recantations fill the air in a medieval blizzard of fear. *Time*, *Life* and Hearst have replaced the rack, and the Representative from New Jersey has donned the Inquisitor's dark satin. The sobbing "I was wrong" of the matinee idol is now to be heard, instead of the

"I have sinned" of the old astronomer, but the pattern, as Brecht bleakly points out, is the same. Truth dies with conformity, this year or last.

Cool demands. Brecht's method of saying these things, in accordance with his theories of the "Epic" theater, is abstract, cold and didactic. He assumes the air of the passionless teacher lecturing to students who are not so bright as they should be. He disdains all emotionalism; scornfully, he refuses to amuse us with the usual dramatist's tricks. His characters are symbols, not people; his action the functioning of huge forces, not the clash of human beings. The final effect is interesting, but aggravating. We get the unpleasant feeling that Brecht regards the human race, or at least that part of it which goes to the theater, as animals equipped with only the most rudimentary ability to reason. His Olympian condescension is bound to annoy us, even when we agree with him most heartily.

Joseph Losey's staging meets, I suppose, with Brecht's cool demands, but it is only in three magnificently searching and eloquent scenes in the second half that the play comes really alive. One is in a garden, in which a young monk tells Galileo the reasons of conscience for which he is giving up the study of physics; another is in the Pope's robing room, in which the humanitarian prelate is forced by the logic of his position to agree to the limited torture of the scientist; and the third is the last scene of the play, in which Galileo explores the most profound and complex depths of compromise, cowardice and treachery.

It is in this scene, seated quietly on the almost empty stage, that Laughton gives us one of the most memorable moments of the recent theater. With a stony and scientifically accurate self-knowledge, he appraises himself and the world. Tragically clear, half-victor, half-victim, the old giant delivers himself of a monumental monologue, and for a time, on the stage of the Maxine Elliot, we seem to be at the very core of truth.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the

Christ. God, Man or Myth?

Did Christ himself write down any record of his life? If so, where are these writings today? Do they exist in any museum or library or sacred shrine? Can you find a trace of them in the vast and mysterious subterranean archives of the Vatican in Rome? The answer is NO! Nowhere has any man been able to discover a single word that Jesus wrote!

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"A Shield Has Two Sides" is not sold through bookstores for reasons you will readily understand after you have read the first few pages. But the Publishers will gladly send a copy on approval to any sincere seeker of knowledge, over 21, who seeks unbiased facts about the Christian Church and how it functions today. Dramatic illustrations. Send only \$1.00 in full payment.

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Laughter such as the Hartmans inspire—warm, clever, without cruelty—even has a salutary moral effect, at least for me. When I left the Coronet Theater I looked around me with a new benignity, and my fellow men seemed like charming, good-hearted folk, worthy of the most pleasant friendship. This feeling lasted all night and only disappeared with the arrival of the next morning's *Times*.

IRWIN SHAW

CORRESPONDENCE

Karloff Is Horrified

SIR: I was horrified by your description of E. R. Squibb and Sons advertisement in *Time* international as reported in the *New Republic* of December 1. I showed it to some reactionary friends of mine, who floored me by pointing out that Squibb and Sons are manufacturing chemists who would not be advertising food, as they did not sell it. They accused the *New Republic* of cheap sensationalism and charged me with being an easy and gullible victim. None of which is true, but I would like your assistance in disproving their charges and clearing up the seeming mystery.

Beverly Hills, Calif.

BORIS KARLOFF

[This was an "institutional" ad designed to show Squibb's admirable interest in health through food the world around. It was not advertising anything specific, except Squibb's insensitivity. — THE EDITORS].

Discrimination in the Colleges

SIR: As a representative of one college mentioned in Bruce Bliven's article of November 8, "For 'Nordics' Only," I question the bias with which he approaches the subject, as well as the validity of his evidence. That there may be an over-all problem is very much the concern of the colleges, but that it will be solved by stating one side only, and that on hearsay, is questionable. Thus, upon dubious authority he lists Mount Holyoke among the colleges that have "enrolled a conspicuously small proportion of Jews." . . .

I do not know what "a conspicuously small proportion" may be. If Mr. Bliven desires a conspicuously larger proportion than that of the group in the area from which we draw, he is asking for a religious prejudice against Protestants, Catholics and Gentiles at large. . . . All of us reject far more applicants than we accept, which means far more Gentiles than Jews. In both groups there are at present considerable numbers who would be well qualified for entrance, were there space in a residential college to accommodate them or the desire or power on our part to increase our numbers.

There are many reasons that enter into the selection of an applicant but even though the sole reason were scholarly, and it is a major reason, it still remains that no one religion has a mo-

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nopoly of intelligence or sound preparation—nor would any intelligent group make such a claim.

As to the assumption that the questions about race or religion upon admission blanks are there for purposes of discrimination, Mr. Bliven needs to investigate history a bit. The questions have been upon our application blanks for many years; in fact they were asked when Mount Holyoke's liberality was unquestioned but when five or six Jews was the total number in the whole student body. . . . Now that they have been stricken from our blanks we shall still need to secure the information, but shall gather it after acceptance. . . . But we have not been obsessed with the idea of guiding our policy of admission by races or religions. We feel we shall best serve them by selecting our students as individuals.

ROSWELL G. HAM,
 President, Mount Holyoke College
 South Hadley, Mass.

SIR: The sources of my information were explicitly stated in my article, and the reader can judge their reliability.

2. Everyone realizes that the colleges are now overcrowded, and are forced to reject applicants. That seems to me a double reason for granting admission on a basis of the ability of each individual to make the best possible use of the facilities available. Nobody is asking special privilege; all that is asked is the abolition of special discrimination.

3. It is certainly possible that some colleges have included questions about religion on admission blanks without using this information as a basis for discrimination. Since, however, in other institutions it is so used, and in all institutions is likely to be so interpreted, the wisdom of abolishing such questions seems to me obvious. I am glad to know that they have been abolished at Mt. Holyoke and that the college is selecting its students as individuals.

BRUCE BLIVEN
 New York City

BANDWAGON

Heresy

The Commies are trying to give our children the idea that nobody has any more rights than anybody else. — *Nathaniel Leverone, president of the Anti-Superstition Society of America, as quoted in the Kansas City, Missouri, Star.*

Free Enterprise

McWilliams Dredging Company sold one of its new hydraulic dredges to the Argentine government for \$2.6 million, giving it a "fair" profit and enabling it to pay off \$2 million of bank loans. — *From the Chicago Sun.*

The Left Hand Is the Dreamer

Ferguson . . . reminded Pauley sharply that President Truman only in October denounced commodity speculators as "gamblers" who were forcing food prices to inflationary heights. . . .

Pauley said he was pretty sure Mr. Truman wasn't talking about him because he had no reason to suppose the President knew anything about his market operations. — *From the Detroit Free Press.*

Be Prepared

She [Sister Mary Theonilla] questioned the advisability of meetings for children held at night, mentioning the Scout movement, particularly. "Going to and from the evening meetings, they may unlearn all that the Scouts have taught them," she said. — *From the Providence, R. I., Journal.*

Austerity Note

And Mrs. John Jacob Astor dazzled Manhattan's El Morocco night club by exhibiting Wow-wow, her Chihuahua, in a new look. Wow-wow—a male—had a diamond ring on each paw and a sapphire choker around his innocent neck. — *From Time magazine.*

The Old Look

"If segregation was good enough for us, it is good enough for our children," Louis Frick [secretary, Southeast Businessmen's Association] explained after the meeting. — *From the Washington Post.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$; will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. — The Editors

WASHINGTON WIRE

(Continued from page 3)

bill, cutting \$88 million from the original measure.

This was just another example of fake Taber "economy." Taber read a lecture to the Administration about squandering money, said France and Italy shouldn't have dollars to meet interest payments on foreign obligations, but just for food and clothing. He cut former items from the bill; "saved" the Treasury \$88 million. But everybody knows that these interest payments (largely to the US itself) must be paid or the two countries will be adjudged bankrupt—the last thing we want.

The Senate put back some of the money. The rest will either be paid or will come out of some poor devil's dinner pail.

An irony of the situation was that the same catch-all bill that carried this new "economy" included another appropriation canceling out an earlier GOP "saving." Alarmed by Western irritation over GOP cuts in reclamation appropriations, the Republicans quietly slipped back \$32 million, for five states, in items which had previously been "saved." These particular reclamation items were reinserted skillfully, with a minimum of public notice.

We apologize for all this space on technical details. These matters hardly get into your newspapers at all. Under a governmental system of fixed responsibility, almost any one of them might have produced a cabinet crisis, and maybe an election, in Britain. But here in Washington, where political responsibility is spread out as thin as a drop of milk in a glassful of water, reporters just smile at the antics of the boys and hardly bother to record them.

Sorry process. For 12 years Franklin D. Roosevelt bolstered up capitalism in every way he could and, except for the brief three-months

"honeymoon" when he reopened the banks (closed tight by the earlier operation of rugged capitalism), he was bitterly assailed by businessmen and the other chief props and beneficiaries of the system.

Now FDR is gone and nobody is looking after capitalism save the capitalists themselves. Congress is dominated by business interests, and what's happening? Inflation is rising, businessmen are whooping it up just as they did in 1929, and Congress has gone home after passing a phony anti-inflation bill which even the businessmen admit won't work.

Failure to curb inflation makes a third round of wage demands inevitable; business is in no position to resist this in view of its own unconscionable profits and dividends; and so the sorry process goes on, while everybody waits apprehensively for the bust that is certain to come.

The steam pressure reads "Danger" as Congress prepares to send it higher with inflationary tax cuts. Washington observers often comment on the stupidity of the Communists. All their tactics in Europe seem geared to produce the results in Congress which they most deplore. Curiously enough, detached observers here are saying the same thing about American capitalists. The stupidity of their approach to inflation is unbelievable. The one thing that would most surely aid communism in America is another big bust, with unemployment and bread lines. And that is what they are heading toward, with the profit-grab motive first. It's a topsy-turvy world.

Notes. Fourteen directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, recently meeting at Cleveland, polled themselves on who would win the GOP nomination; the result was Eisenhower, eleven to three. . . . Presidential press secretary Charlie Ross left a \$25,000 newspaper job to take his present \$10,000 salary; the only outside writing income he has received since then is \$11, for paragraphs submitted to the *New Yorker*.

Washington

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